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ABSTRACT

This report describes a collaborative research effort to examine the nature, role, and impact of staff development in an unspecified desegregated, urban school district. The report outlines the study which was conducted as a short term focused ethnography in three elementary and three secondary schools employing both interview and observation as research techniques. Part one provides a description of the studied site and the study's goals. Part two presents an analysis and summary of the findings; data from all six schools are employed to develop arguments about the nature of the work setting as a context for staff development, and about the shape of influential staff development programs. Tentative hypotheses are formulated to reflect the major tenets of these arguments. Appendices contain case study descriptions for the six participating schools, a description of the research methods, and a selective review of literature relevant to the study. (Author/APM)

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SCHOOL SUCCESS AND STAFF DEVELOPMENT:

THE ROLE OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

Judith Warren Little

January 1981

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Judith Warren Little

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION: A COLLABORATIVE STUDY OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND SUCCESSFUL SCHOOLS 1

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE 4

A. COURT-ORDERED DESEGREGATION 4

B. PRESENT STATUS OF DESEGREGATION: THE CONTEXT FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT 5

C. THE DISTRICT'S APPROACH TO STAFF DEVELOPMENT 6

II. PURPOSES AND APPROACHES 10

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT 11

CHAPTER TWO: ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY 12

I. INTRODUCTION 13

II. PREPARATION TO TEACH: BUILDING A PERSPECTIVE ABOUT "LEARNING ON THE JOB" 14

A. "GOOD TEACHING IS SELF-EVIDENT" 14

B. "GOOD TEACHING CAN BE MASTERED ALONE" 16

C. "TEACHERS CAN GET HELP BY ASKING" 17

D. SUMMARY 20

III. THE SCHOOL AS WORKPLACE: A SETTING FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT 23

A. INTRODUCTION 23

1. Expectations for Shared Work: A Norm of Collegiality 23

2. Expectations for Analysis, Evaluation, and Experimentation: A Norm of Continuous Improvement 24

B. AN INVENTORY OF WORK PRACTICES 25

C. A RANGE OF INTERACTION IN SIX SCHOOLS 26
  1. Number of Interactions 29
  2. Focus 33
  3. Location 36
  4. Actors and Others 38

D. CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERACTION 40
  1. "Practicality": The Standard of Concreteness 40
  2. Reciprocity 44
  3. Relevance 47
  4. Frequency of Interaction 49

E. CHARACTERISTICS OF ACTORS 51
  1. Status 51
  2. Technical Knowledge and Skill 54
  3. Social or Role Competence 55

F. THE ROLE OF THE PRINCIPAL 57
  1. Announcing Expectations 57
  2. Enacting Expectations 60
  3. Sanctioning Behavior 62
  4. Protecting Teachers' Efforts 64

G. SUMMARY 67

IV. THE NATURE AND ROLE OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT 68

A. INTRODUCTION 68

B. A RANGE OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS 69
  1. Coursework 70
  2. Topical Presentations and Demonstrations 70
  3. Pullout Programs 71
  4. Partnership Arrangements with Individual Schools 71
    a. Invitational programs 71
    b. Assigned resource people 72
    c. The staff development liaison 72

C. CHARACTERISTICS OF INFLUENTIAL STAFF DEVELOPMENT 74
  1. Collaboration 74
    a. Collaboration and relevance 75
    b. Collaboration and clarity 76
    c. Collaboration and reciprocity 79
  2. Collective Participation 82
    a. District tactics 84
    b. Program success and collegial implementation of ideas 86
  3. Focus 93

4. Time: Frequency and Duration of Staff Development 95
   a. Frequency of interaction 95
   b. Duration: Providing for progressive gains 96

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS 102

FIGURES

FIGURE 1: AN ILLUSTRATIVE INVENTORY OF CHARACTERISTIC TEACHER INTERACTIONS IN SIX SCHOOLS 27

FIGURE 2: RANGE OF COLLEGIAL INTERACTION IN SIX SCHOOLS 30

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: *CASE STUDIES*

APPENDIX B: *A DESCRIPTION OF METHODS*

APPENDIX C: *LITERATURE REVIEW*

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION: A COLLABORATIVE STUDY OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND SUCCESSFUL SCHOOLS

This report describes collaborative research to examine the nature, role, and impact of staff development in an urban desegregated school district. The sections that follow describe ethnographic research designed to explore the nature, role, and impact of staff development in schools that have demonstrated greater and lesser success in meeting the demands placed by rapidly increased diversity and fundamentally altered circumstances of teaching and learning in elementary and secondary schools.

We focus here on staff development as one of a potential array of activities aimed at improvement of educational practice and prospects for educational equity in an urban school system with substantial socioeconomic, racial, and cultural diversity--an urban school system under the additional and profound pressure of court-ordered desegregation.

Schools participating in rapid and imposed desegregation represent a particular set of circumstances under which teachers, administrators, and students encounter increased diversity and its attendant problems and challenges. We expect that under such circumstances schools face:

> Rapid and externally controlled changes in the demographic composition of the school (often unaccompanied by comparable changes in the surrounding neighborhood).
>
> Potentially rapid dislocations or shifts in the structure of informal peer reference groups among both staff and students.
>
> Unanticipated shifts in norms governing cognitive learning, conforming or deviant behavior, teacher/student relations, and classroom performance.
>
> Pressures from outside the school for particular forms of compliance (or resistance), including pressures from state and federal government agencies, the central school district administration, parents, lay monitors, professional associations or unions, and the like.

All of these changes may be reflected in a variety of side effects, positive and negative, including changes in achievement levels; the nature of classroom interaction (including the relevance and effectiveness of particular teaching strategies); the incidence of classroom disruption, truancy, dropout, or vandalism; teacher turnover; and parent activism (and the nature and frequency of parental demands for school action). To most, if not all, of these considerations, staff development has emerged as a principal strategic response. In turn, these circumstances and pressures have created possibilities for and placed limits on the accomplishment of staff development.

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE

This study was conducted in a school district[1] serving the principal city of a major metropolitan area in a western state. The greater metropolitan area encompasses four counties with an estimated population of 1.4 million. The area served by the participating school district has an estimated population of approximately 516,000; although the city has become more homogeneous in the past ten years as middle-class families have moved to suburban communities, the city continues to represent substantial socioeconomic, racial, and cultural diversity. The city is roughly 69 percent white or Anglo, 19 percent Spanish-surnamed or Chicano, 10 percent Black or Negro, and 2 percent "other" (including a relatively large number of American Indian and Oriental families). To serve this population, the public school system maintains ninety-three elementary schools, eighteen junior high schools, and nine senior high schools, together with an array of well-established alternative school sites.

A. COURT-ORDERED DESEGREGATION

The single major influence on district schools in the last ten years has been the advent of court-ordered desegregation. As a result of a 1969 lawsuit, the District Court ordered the schools to establish and implement a plan by which "equal facilities" would be made available to students regardless of background or geographic location. The District Court order was subsequently reversed by the Court of Appeals, then upheld in a Supreme Court decision. Districtwide busing of students began in 1974, and a "paired-school" plan was introduced in 1977. Under the terms of the latter program, elementary schools not meeting a criterion of 34 percent minority/66 percent majority, either through natural neighborhood balance or satellite attendance areas, were paired. Grades one through three were housed in one school of the pair, and grades four through six were housed in the other school of the pair, (Kindergartens were maintained in the neighborhood school.) By means of this plan, the district created forty-seven K-6 (or unpaired) schools, twenty-two K-3 schools, and twenty-four K and 4-6 schools. To achieve criterion representation in secondary schools, changes were made in attendance area boundaries.

---

[1] All actual names of persons and places have been eliminated or replaced by pseudonyms in order to preserve assurances of anonymity.

B. PRESENT STATUS OF DESEGREGATION: THE CONTEXT FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Although implementation of desegregation has proceeded relatively smoothly (i.e., the district has not faced some of the overt, visible, and sometimes violent difficulties encountered by other cities), school personnel report:

> We have not totally succeeded in creating the kinds of schools we would like to have; the potential envisioned has not been fully achieved. Continuing problems and concerns about school environment, educational practices, and interpersonal relations remain to be addressed (ESAA Plan, December 1978, Section 1, p. 2).

School personnel report further that progress has been slowed in part as a consequence of effects directly or indirectly wrought by the desegregation order:

Decline in enrollment. In the decade since the original desegregation decision, pupil population in the city's public schools has decreased 30 percent. The rate of loss is now slowing, but the decrease has had an effect on both the size and composition of the student population. The district has experienced a shift toward a "minority school system." The number of minority-isolated schools (more than 50 percent minority students) has increased from thirty-four to eighty-nine since the beginning of desegregation in 1969, and that increase has been particularly marked since the advent of forced busing in 1974.

Stability of teaching and administrative staff. With the decrease in enrollment, there are fewer opportunities for "new hires" in the teaching and administrative staff; district personnel have tended to stabilize. Thus many of the staff presently working in district schools are persons whose early training did not equip them to work in "inner-city" schools and who did not anticipate the rapid shift to minority-dominated schools when they assumed their staff assignments. The shift in composition of the pupil population and the relative stability of the teaching and administrative staff together carry substantial implications for staff development.

Changing tax base. With the move of middle-class families, small businesses, and other commercial or industrial activity to outlying areas, income from local taxes and state aid has been reduced. In the crudest terms, money is a resource that is relatively unavailable for the upgrading of school facilities or school staff. In the absence of money, the public schools must ask what form of assistance can be rendered to individual schools and to teachers and administrators that will effect improvement.

Geographic mobility. The effects of diversity are compounded in schools where the mobility rate (number of entries and withdrawals over a year's time) has ranged from 25 percent to 176 percent. Teachers find continuity difficult to sustain under such circumstances; students find it difficult to develop a "sense of belonging" in particular schools or a stake in schooling generally. School personnel attribute high levels of dropout in great part to the effects of high mobility.

Diversity in school-related norms. Visible diversity in ethnic, cultural, language-related, or racial characteristics in the pupil population have been accompanied by and reflected in diversity in student, peer, teacher, or family expectations for school achievement, future educational or occupational prospects, teacher/student or teacher/parent relations, school attendance, peer relations, and acknowledge social standing in the school. Differences in group norms and in perceptions of experience in the school setting by different groups may be reflected in differences in student behavior: dropout, disruption, homework completion, test performance, and relationships with peers and teachers. This is the critical ground of daily experience for all the persons, students and adults, who spend their days in schools.

C. THE DISTRICT'S APPROACH TO STAFF DEVELOPMENT

The challenges and difficulties encountered by teachers, administrators, students, and parents in the course of desegregation of the district schools revolve around a single central question: How can the schools be organized and run to insure, for all persons who spend their days there, equity of opportunity and consequences and to promote educational achievement, personal satisfaction, and social order?

In its search for improvement, the public schools established in 1978 four priority areas:

To improve academic achievement, particularly focusing on critical basic skills.

To improve school/community relations.

To improve discipline.

To improve the holding power of the schools.

Addressing these priorities is not solely an issue of technical training, i.e., of new techniques appropriate to altered circumstances, but is in large part a question of social organization. Cast in these terms, it is not at all clear that money and newly trained cadres of young teachers, even if they were available, would constitute interventions of the sort required to address the issues at hand.

In light of these observations, an additional action of the Board of Education assumes particular relevance; in 1978, the board established a Department of Staff Development to assist in addressing the established priorities. Although staff development activities had been conducted by the district for many years, these activities had never before been centralized, guided by a core set of priorities, or organized to permit design and conduct of an entire coordinated program in light of emerging practical discoveries or theoretical interests.

The priorities of the Board of Education and the practical circumstances facing individual schools lead the Department of Staff Development to design a program that concentrated assistance in two areas:

> Assistance in building *individual capabilities* for instruction and classroom management, which has formed the largest part of the 1978-79 program.
>
> Assistance in *organizational capabilities* for addressing persistent problems of an organizational nature (problems reflected in differential rates of failure, nonattendance, dropout, and classroom disruption). A recent and small-scale effort in this area has called for assistance in school climate improvement (Howard, 1978; Maynard, 1976, 1978); assistance of this sort has required attention to organizational (rather than personal) skills not traditionally a part of staff development curricula.

Whatever the specific perspective underlying various staff development offerings, the common element underlying these activities is intended *change.* We expect that, under conditions of relatively rapid, imposed change in school settings, the role of staff development is both central and problematic; while staff development offers assistance in managing change (increased diversity), such activities also place demands on teachers and administrators, and even on students and parents. Ambivalence or even resistance by school personnel, under these circumstances, seems a natural and rational response and calls for careful attention to the design and conduct of staff development work. Further, the goals of increased educational equity for students may be in conflict (particularly in the early stages of change) with goals of social order and high staff morale; social change of any sort produces rough edges. Under these circumstances, one might expect substantial reliance upon staff development or other forms of outside assistance; yet recent studies of innovation suggest that desperate circumstances produce caution. In a study of cloud seeding in South Dakota (Farhar et al., 1978), those communities with the worst drought record were the most resistant to the new program. Similarly, in a study of group home placement in residential neighborhoods (Miller, Ohlin, and Coates, 1977), communities that viewed themselves as having the worst delinquency problem were the least likely to support the creation of residential facilities. In parallel fashion, schools most committed to the accomplishment of equity may create difficult working conditions where the stakes associated with change are sufficiently high that teachers and administrators are reluctant to attempt new practices.

Regardless of the content of its staff development curriculum, the Department of Staff Development has grounded its entire program on a mode of delivery that attempts to take deliberate and systematic account of the social organizational setting of the school. In addition to employing the usual range of delivery modes (workshops, preparation of materials, visiting speakers, and so forth), the department has sought to increase adoption of new practices by expanding the role of instruction committee representatives, by seeking staff development liaisons and by working to build teams in schools. In a brief document, "Instruction Committees as Educational Linkers," the Department of Staff Development registers its intent to cultivate instruction committees as groups within schools acting as principal agents of change. Variable responses to this approach in its early stages (1978-1979) have raised a number of pertinent research issues bearing on conditions and processes of change, and specifically the role of the change agent.

The experience of the Department of Staff Development in its first year of centralized operations raised the following issues and questions:

Relevance

How does the focus of staff development contribute to the improvement of educational practice by tapping recurrent practical concerns of teachers and administrators? Goodlad (1970) has observed that the school is rare in which inservice training or staff development activities emerge from and are direct to immediate "situational factors" (Bash and Morris, 1978). This is an issue of practical relevance.

How does the content of staff development reveal attention to the nature of policy and practice that bear upon increased equity? This is an issue of theoretical and policy relevance.

How does the design of staff development activity accommodate judgments about the potential influence of staff development as a strategic intervention? This is an issue of social or strategic relevance.

Mode

How does staff development accommodate the situational limits and possibilities of change created by the school as an organizational setting? To what extent are the hopes engendered and demands placed realistic in light of the present norms of interaction and relationship in the school?

How does staff development equip administrators and teachers to take organizational factors into account in defining problems, in making requests for staff development, in organizing and conducting staff development activities, in identifying implementation difficulties, and in proposing subsequent direction?

II. PURPOSES AND APPROACHES

This study was designed to add depth and specificity to our understanding of the role played by staff development in urban, desegregated schools; we aimed at capturing the kind of richness and complexity that lend "phenomenological validity" (Deutscher, 1973) and that support the formulation of hypotheses that might organize more systematic study on a broader scale.

The study was conducted as a focused, short-term ethnography in three elementary and three secondary schools. Over a five month period, interviews were conducted with teachers and administrators in each school, and observations were made in classrooms, hallways, faculty lounges, administrative offices, faculty meetings and inservice sessions.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

This report is organized in four major sections. This introduction is chapter one of the main section of the report. In chapter two, Analysis and Summary of Findings, data from all six schools are employed to develop a set of arguments about the nature of the work setting as a context for staff development, and about the shape of influential staff development programs. Propositions, or tentative hypotheses, have been formulated to reflect the major tenets of these arguments. This section stands as the major body of the report. Three remaining sections have been treated as appendices. Appendix A contains the case study descriptions for the six participating schools. Each case study has been designed to reflect the major insights gained from a school about the school as a workplace and about the limits and possibilities of staff development as a resource for improvement.

Appendix B describes our methods. Included in this appendix is a lengthy description of the collaborative relationship that was forged with the district, the individual participating schools, and a group of practitioner-advisors.

Appendix C is a selective review of the literature that has informed and is informed by this inquiry.

CHAPTER TWO:

ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY

18

I. INTRODUCTION

The commonplace (and common sense) view that persons learn by experience is hardly new. Precisely how and under what conditions persons gain competence and confidence in their work is less clear. Less certain, too, is the way in which the gains made by individuals bear upon the broader success of the organizations in which they work. In talking with teachers and administrators in six schools, we sought insight into the nature and extent of "learning on the job," and into the ways in which organized programs of staff development serve to extend knowledge, skill, and satisfaction.

Two discoveries emerge from interviews and conversations; each gives rise to a set of propositions intended to guide further quantitative study and the practical design of staff development programs.

First, the school as a workplace proves extraordinarily powerful. Without denying differences in individuals' skills, interests, commitment, curiosity, or persistence, the prevailing pattern of interactions and interpretations in each building demonstrably creates certain possibilities and sets certain limits. Those aspects of work that appear most consequential are those that are least often studied, least visible in any clear or systematic way to teachers (though sometimes the subject of complaints), and least often addressed in programs of improvement. Most at issue here are the nature and extent of collegial relationships among teachers and between faculty and administrators, and the nature of the stance adopted toward present practice and new ideas. In part II of this chapter, teachers' vivid portrayals of the first year on the job show how routine work arrangements and daily encounters with other adults in schools strongly shape expectations for "being a teacher." Their descriptions lead us to characterize schools and groups within schools by their participation in norms for shared work (collegiality) and norms for the analysis and evaluation of practice (experimentation, or continuous improvement). In part III, this normative perspective organizes teachers' and administrators' descriptions of work in six schools.

Second, staff development programs prove differentially powerful in influencing teachers' expectations for student performance, their perspective on teaching and learning, or their actual classroom practice; and their influence in these substantive arenas appears tied in large degree to their relative success in accounting for, building on, or altering the prevailing work relationships in a school. In part IV, we have concentrated on revealing those features of staff development that teachers and administrators credit with influence.

II. PREPARATION TO TEACH: BUILDING A PERSPECTIVE ABOUT "LEARNING ON THE JOB"

Teachers are prepared by their undergraduate education, by their brief stint at practice teaching, and by their first year on the job to adopt a set of perspectives on teaching that lead them either to value or devalue staff development. Those perspectives are built and confirmed over time by what newcomers are told about teaching and by the situations they encounter in their first schools. For some, first experiences forge a commitment to continued learning, to analysis and evaluation of classroom practice, to a reliance on work with others. But by most accounts, these early experiences on the job serve to convey certain working principles that run counter to those on which staff development is founded; that is, the way in which teachers typically learn how to do their work does not ordinarily lead them to value staff development or to seek opportunities for participation in staff development. The principles are these:

A. "GOOD TEACHING IS SELF-EVIDENT"

Teachers learn early--as early as undergraduate classes in education--that close scrutiny of actual teaching situations and teaching practice may go unrewarded. A person who ventures to unravel a difficult, complex, or just awkward classroom situation is likely to be told, "If you are conducting your class properly, that won't happen."[1]

Beginning teachers enter the classroom for the first time acting on the belief (even if not convinced of it) that good teaching is self-evident, that its effects are readily observable in the classroom, and that its characteristic techniques are easily detected by the most unpracticed of eyes. Nothing they typically encounter in student teaching or in their first year leads them to alter that view.

Supervisors typically permit student teachers to observe, to ask questions, and gradually to assume a teaching load; the initiative belongs to the beginners, to whom it may be eminently unclear *what* to observe, *how* to observe it in ways that lead to discussion, how to frame up questions, and how to translate what they see or are told into practice. Teachers who look back on those experiences as helpful report that observation and discussion were sustained over the course of practice teaching, not concentrated in the first few days. One experienced teacher describes his expectations for *reciprocal* demonstration, observation, and critique. In that instance, the supervising teacher looks to the student teacher as a rare source of commentary on his *own* teaching, but his expectation that the beginner will offer a critique may force closer attention to observation than the expectation that the beginner need only try to mimic.

---

[1] University professors who "haven't been in a classroom in twenty years" are a frequent target of teachers' complaints. Yet it appears that they may be powerful models for a teaching role that is uncommitted to continuous growth, to careful analysis of practices and their consequences, or to experimental efforts to apply theory in practice.

If close examination of classroom practice is underexplored in student teaching, it is rendered nearly impossible by the situation created for most teachers during their first year on the job. Careful and continuous scrutiny of practice requires both a certain healthy skepticism and some provision (time, assistance) for analysis and reflection. One experienced teacher complained that the ordinary school schedule leaves no time for analysis. The dilemma for inexperienced teachers is further compounded:

> When you first start teaching, you write down every word you're going to say. The plan book isn't near big enough--you write it on sheets of notebook paper. . . . When you're a new teacher or a student teacher, every word you're thinking about; you're thinking about whether you're going to spell it right on the board, you know that kind of thing. Okay. Well, attendance has to be done and people get very upset with you when you don't do attendance right . . . [and] the new teachers, not always but very often, they get a high percentage of rough jobs. Okay, meaning rough classes and rough duties.
>
> (Teacher, Reed Junior High)

It appears that working alone to "learn everything all at once" produces a version of "trial and error" for which the main criterion of success may be simply getting through the day. The argument that teaching is an art (not a science) thus gains certain currency by the experience of teaching practice as an accumulation of tricks of the trade, applied in various combinations and at various times to various groups based on some mix of intuition, informed judgment, and sheer good luck.

In their own first encounters on the job and in the interactions they witness among others, beginning teachers are given little reason to treat teaching as subtle and complex, to make observation a skill to be practiced and mastered, or to cultivate observation, reflection, and practice as a useful *set* of activities to be pursued with others and sustained indefinitely. To the extent that staff development calls for close and careful scrutiny of practice, for open "public" discussion of practice, for shared work, and for tactical decisions based on something other than personal preference, it may run directly counter to the expectations for "being a teacher" that persons learned to take for granted in their day-to-day work.

B. "GOOD TEACHING CAN BE MASTERED ALONE"

Teachers generally subscribe to the view that they can develop into strong teachers on their own and that one mark of a good teacher is the ability to do precisely that. The view is made more powerful by a practical reality in which teachers are in fact required to make it alone in classrooms.

In their first year on the job, teachers assume from the first day the schedule and responsibilities of an experienced teacher.[1] Acknowledging the dilemma faced by new teachers, individual schools or departments make arrangements to lend assistance. The most influential of these arrangements, according to teachers, are those that engage inexperienced and experienced teachers in regular discussion, demonstration teaching, observation, and the review of materials; the least influential are those designed merely to make a newcomer socially welcome.

> I was very lucky in having what they called in those days a helping teacher--a real . . . a teacher who came from her own room, she wasn't a supervisor, she didn't sit in an office, she was working with kids. They would send a substitute to her room. . . . And she would come and help me. They would give me a day off to go and watch her. So uh, I didn't know, it, it had more credibility because she was working with children herself. . . . I think she had a total of two or three of us that she worked with. And she'd call us together for meetings and we would talk.
>
> (Teacher, Smallwood Elementary)

Unless explicitly and formally arranged, however, these arrangements do not readily permit the very kind of classroom observation and critique that teachers find so useful:

> T: . . . she just wanted to know, so she asked.
>
> I: Do you think that made the adjustment quicker, or better, by virtue of having you around?
>
> T: Yeah, because she didn't have to wait for . . . to find out that something was really wrong. She wanted to know right now, when she knew something was going wrong, and she wanted to find out so it wouldn't happen again.
>
> I: Did you ever observe her in the classroom?
>
> T: No, that's not my job.
>
> (Teacher, Reed Junior High)

---

[1] In his ethnographic account, *Schoolteacher*, Lortie (1975) characterizes as "primitive" the arrangements for mediating, or easing, the entry of teachers into their profession.

C. "TEACHERS CAN GET HELP BY ASKING"

Perhaps the single most pervasive expectation among teachers is that teachers will give each other help and advice when asked. Over and over, experienced teachers report that they encourage beginning teachers to ask questions.

The provision that teachers may initiate interaction with other teachers by *asking for help* is widespread and powerful.[1] For inexperienced teachers, it serves to establish alliances with other members of the faculty and to relieve some of the stress of a difficult situation by offering assurances that the job is in fact difficult and demanding. Teachers report that asking for help has brought them supplies of materials and has taught them useful principles of classroom management, e.g., to avoid confrontations by leaving students a way to "save face" in a conflict. For experienced teachers in new or unfamiliar situations, too, it can be the route to useful classroom advice and can build faculty ties by crediting others with knowledge and skill.

> T: They were short of third grade teachers so I told them I'd give it a try. I expected it to last about one year. But this is the fourth year actually I've been into it now so. . . . It was quite a change.
>
> I: And so you worked with the other third grade teachers. . . .
>
> T: Right. Yeah, lots of help on how to present these things, help getting my mind down to a third grade level instead of talking over them.
>
> I: How did . . . that's, as you point out, a whole different way of talking. How did you learn to do that? When you say you got help, what kind of help was it?
>
> T: Well, they'd often let me just come in and watch during my planning period so that I could, could kind of uh, not so much see what they were doing, but see how they were doing it, how they were talking about it. Getting materials for me so I wasn't trying to give them long division and stuff like this.
>
> (Teacher, Smallwood Elementary)

A thin but carefully preserved line is drawn between offering advice if asked and interfering in unwarranted ways with another's work. One teacher declared that other teachers were "none of my business." Another claims she learned in her first year that you

---

[1] One junior high teacher, looking for greater acceptance in his department, mounted a campaign of systematic "question-asking" as a way of demonstrating his commitment to the department.

"don't infringe on someone else's teaching." Even for purposes of introducing inexperienced teachers to the profession, the boundaries of collegial responsibility stretch to awarding help but stop short of setting any explicit standards for proper teaching. Teachers with many years' experience and with some well-formulated and well-grounded views on effective and ineffective approaches to teaching still refrain from advocating an approach to a beginning teacher:

> T: I would see what their lesson plans had or what their . . . what they had detailed that they were going to do. And I would say, "Well now what if you tried this?" And they'd say, "Well, I hadn't even thought about that." Or "I'd rather not, I wouldn't feel comfortable." Then I'd say, "You do it your way."
>
> (Teacher, Smallwood Elementary School)

> T: Now I have a new teacher. She's a first year teacher, and she had been willing to ask, and I said, "Well, until you asked, I was not going to tell you because I'm a teacher in your classroom, and that's teacher-to-teacher," and that's not right unless the other teacher is asking for help.
>
> (Teacher, Reed Junior High)

As a kind of "basic" definition of collegiality, then, or as an outer boundary on expected interactions among teachers, "learning by asking" seriously limits the degree to which teachers possess what Lortie (1975) terms a shared technical culture. The principal limitation is that questions asked by one teacher of another are seen as requests for *help*. Questions stimulated by a more general curiosity about the business of teaching are reportedly and observably more rare. The prevailing model for professional interaction, then, is one that requires one teacher to take a subordinate stance by admitting difficulties to another. Discussion about *practice*, under these conditions, becomes difficult to separate from judgments of persons' *competence*. Understandably, more experienced teachers may show less and less inclination to engage with colleagues if doing so can be managed only in ways that may jeopardize self-esteem and social standing.

The principal tactic by which teachers initiate professional discussion about teaching thus turns out to be one with powerful implications for professional status. The question, then is: Is it worth it? When one asks for help, does the ensuing discussion generate greater understanding and a store of practical advice? Judging by teachers' accounts, the answer must be that in most instances it does not.

The inability of the "ask me" approach to generate improved knowledge and practice does not appear, either by teachers' accounts or by our own observations, to stem from any reluctance on the part of teachers to be helpful to one another. That is not to say that teachers in all buildings view their colleagues as uniformly helpful and friendly; in some instances they view each other as competitive or unfriendly. The point is that even in those circumstances where teachers fully *intend* to be helpful to their peers, they are unable to be so when they rely on the unwritten but powerful rule that teachers "learn by asking for help."

Quite apart from its implications for professional status, there are three major weaknesses in the "ask me" approach that limit its utility for teachers. First, teachers do not typically command or share a language and set of concepts for describing the business of teaching with any precision. Questions are often asked and advice offered at a level of abstraction too broad to permit either party to agree on the nature of the problem or the solution. The absence of a shared language for talking about classroom practice must seriously compromise teachers' ability to be useful sources of advice for one another. Nothing in most persons' introduction to teaching is structured to insure a cumulative command or expanding use of such a language.

Second, it requires that complex matters be attempted piecemeal. Such an approach contributes to a view of teaching as the accumulated tricks of the trade. It is worth noting that those teachers who received extensive assistance in their first year, or teachers who credit staff development with major influence on their teaching, tend to attribute to those sources a *perspective* on teaching, an entire framework for organizing their planning and classroom activity. It appears unlikely, judging by teachers' accounts, that the same sense of perspective can be achieved by relying on occasional requests for assistance that are prompted by some immediate crisis in the classroom.

The third weakness in the "ask me" approach is that it rarely makes provision for teachers to observe the practices that they describe to one another. Typically, teachers learned early in their careers that they cannot expect to observe others and that others' observations of them are most likely to come in the context of an evaluation. One teacher reported that she expected, when she started teaching, to be "dropping in to observe people all the time." It did not take her long to discover that she was not welcome in other classrooms and now, after eight years, she herself is "uncomfortable" having classroom visitors. A high school teacher who looks to colleagues teaching the same subject in other schools for descriptions of classroom activities has refrained from asking any of that group if she may observe:

> I have just learned by trial and error. I don't know how other teachers learn. So I would like to observe other teachers but I don't feel comfortable enough to. . . . You can go to other friends and say what do you do in your classroom? . . . I could ask them anything. And they will help me with it. And they can ask me anything and I will help them but we still don't feel comfortable enough to go and observe each other.

(Teacher, Park High School)

To watch another teacher at work, as a routine part of one's work and as a means of improving one's own understanding and practice, is rare indeed. Yet the relevance and worth of others' advice may rest in large part on the opportunity to see that advice played out in practice, and on the opportunity to collect evidence of one's own progress by being observed.

D. SUMMARY

Experienced teachers maintain that teaching is demanding, difficult, and complex. They are not always certain what will work, or why, so it is not always clear how insights gained in a single class or a single day can be more broadly applied. They are not always certain whether something has in fact worked when the criterion is some enduring knowledge or skill. Some teachers paint a picture of early years on the job in which they were encouraged to notice the complexities of teaching and learning, to analyze them, to pursue them in conversation with colleagues; this turns out to be something of a rare circumstance. Many teachers reconstruct their first year on the job as a time when they were left largely to their own resources as they struggled to master instruction, classroom order, and administrative detail. In the best of such situations, the faculty was "close," offering large doses of camaraderie, sympathy, moral support--even if it did not offer observation, critique, shared planning, and preparation. Such contrasting accounts reveal the power of the school as a *workplace* to build and confirm a particular set of views on teaching and teachers. Three basic views are reflected in teachers' descriptions, each grounded in daily experiences on the job and each with implications for the role and potential influence of staff development:

> By one perspective, collegiality means acknowledging and tolerating the individual preferences or styles of others. By this view, good teaching is self-evident and competent practice is within the reach of any intelligent and interested teacher who is sufficiently attentive to classroom experience. The road to individual competence is through independent trial and error; the contributions to school success derive from the accumulated experience and skill of individual teachers.
>
> By a second perspective, collegiality means offering help when needed. By this view, teaching is reasonably self-evident but reality can pose thorny problems requiring the occasional assistance of others. Assistance is warranted particularly for new teachers, or for experienced teachers facing new or unfamiliar situations. The road to individual competence is through individual experience, with selective recourse to the knowledge or skill of others; the route to school success is indirectly through the improved skill of individual teachers.
>
> By a third perspective, collegiality means shared work. By this view, the business of teaching is complex and difficult.

> The consequences of particular practices are by no means certain; the characteristics of good practice may be hard to detect and harder to master. Competent practice is thought to require the efforts of teachers working together; colleagues expect of each other a willingness to make collective commitments, to accord serious scrutiny to present practice, and fair trial to new ideas.

Where work situations permit, encourage, or even require teachers to enact the first of these three viewpoints, i.e., where the shared expectations (norms) favor independent work and treat teachers' practice as a matter for personal "style" preference, any radical change must effectively place teachers back in the equivalent of a "first year." Many teachers' accounts of the first years of desegregation, for example, are not dissimilar to their accounts of a first year of teaching. The organizational dislocation was substantial as faculties were subjected to massive transfers, as curriculum underwent change, and as many of the old routines of daily school and classroom management were rendered unworkable in the face of large-scale group conflicts.

Typically, sporadic efforts at assistance failed to offer an opportunity for teachers to grapple with the organizational and practical dimensions of desegregation. Inservice in effect (as reported by teachers) assumed that good practice was self-evident if only teachers were properly understanding, receptive and well-intentioned. (By this view, failure amounted to "evidence" that teachers were somehow deficient in understanding and commitment--that is, they were racist.)[1] Teachers found that they were most readily able to "survive" the massive changes that were wrought by desegregation when they created regular opportunities to work together on shared problems.

Teachers who express most confidence in their own ability to succeed with diverse populations of students and to adapt to changing circumstances have typically been teachers who subscribe to the third view; further, these teachers report that teachers and schools remain influential even in the face of demanding external influences (e.g., high family mobility). Confronted with district decisions, or with state and federal legislation that are outside their control but which nonetheless affect their work, these teachers voice a belief in the collective power of teachers to work out problems and "maintain standards."

> T: I think that's one reason why I think this school is known as . . . it still is a top junior high school in the district, is because we've really pretty much held to those standards. . . . People in this school have not given up like maybe you hear they have in

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[1] The inservice experience reported by most teachers in the early stages of desegregation is parallel to that described by Rist (1978).

> other schools. . . . A lot of them stayed in here and fought and said, 'Damn it! these kids are going to learn.'
>
> (Teacher, Reed Junior High)

In exposing the power of the school as workplace to organize persons' views and experiences of teaching, we tap more than the conditions that spawn individual commitment, interest, and skill; we also tap fundamental sources of schools' adaptability to and success with the diverse demands of urban settings. We touch upon schools' collective capacity to be responsive to the requirements of increasingly diverse populations and to the demands for equity that are social and organizational even while they are played out in individual classrooms.

The sections that follow address these issues in three ways. First, teachers' accounts of daily life in schools offer descriptions of certain interactions in and out of classrooms that appear to contribute to school success and adaptability; these are interactions that distinguish relatively more successful from relatively less successful schools and that create a setting where "learning on the job" is all part of a day's work. Second, teachers' and administrators' accounts suggest some of the specific ways in which principals act to initiate, strengthen, ignore, erode, or otherwise influence teachers' commitment to these important practices. And finally, descriptions offered by teachers, administrators, and staff developers provide insight into the ways that staff development has been designed and conducted to contribute to school success by accounting for and influencing work relations in schools.

III. THE SCHOOL AS WORKPLACE: A SETTING FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT

A. INTRODUCTION

Two powerful norms are forged in the daily work of teaching; they are forged not only by classroom experiences, but also in critical ways by teachers' interactions with each other and with administrators or others. Both appear to bear on the role and impact of staff development.

1. Expectations for Shared Work: A Norm of Collegiality

These are expectations for teachers as colleagues. One of the principal ways in which teachers characterize the buildings in which they work is by whether the faculty is "close" and by whether teachers routinely "work together." The variations on these themes are considerable. Expectations for shared discussion and shared work distinguish one building from another; some buildings are reportedly (and observably) more "collegial" than others.

A frequent lament about the "social reality of teaching"[1] is that teachers lead isolated lives in classrooms. Certainly the accounts we received from teachers lent some confirmation to this view. The isolated classroom is an unescapable practical reality for teachers. Teachers in five of the six schools described a "cubbyhole" existence in which they could do their job adequately without ever speaking to a fellow teacher. The requirement that teachers be able to make it on their own in classrooms is not typically matched by a parallel requirement that they venture out of the classroom and into the professional company of colleagues. Occasions on which teachers happen to sit together in the same room do not necessarily spur professional interaction; a teacher in one junior high school reported that she had managed eighteen years of faculty meetings without once uttering a word. By teachers' descriptions, work arrangements in schools often permit a version of collegiality that amounts to little more than shared status as a teacher.

The imagery of isolation that flows from such descriptions is indeed high. Still, teachers speak with enthusiasm of those occasions when interactions with other teachers or administrators have stimulated their thinking, improved their practice, and enhanced their morale. In particular, some collaborative arrangements have fostered a sense of interdependence and confirmed the value of shared discussion, planning, and even work in classrooms.

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[1] See Ann Lieberman and Lynne Miller, "The Social Realities of Teaching" in Lieberman and Miller (1979); also Sarason (1971), Fuchs (1969), and Lortie (1975).

Even teachers who stress their isolation report daily or weekly interactions with other teachers and with administrators. In this light, "isolation" is more usefully viewed as a statement about a *relative* absence of involvement with others--a description of a situation in which certain kinds of interactions are forbidden or discouraged (even if unintentionally). Similarly, "work together" is more usefully elaborated as an array of specific interactions by which teachers discuss, plan for, design, conduct, analyze, evaluate, and experiment with the business of teaching.

To the extent that school situations foster teachers' recourse to others' knowledge and experience, and to shared work and discussion, teachers are likely to favor some participation in staff development; to the extent that they foster a belief that there is nothing to learn from others or that each teacher must pursue his independent course, staff development will hold little appeal.

In sum, staff development appears to have greatest prospects for influence where there is a prevailing norm[1] of collegiality. In each of six schools, we look to teachers' accounts of daily work and involvement in learning on the job to reveal the nature of norms of collegiality.

2. Expectations for Analysis, Evaluation, and Experimentation: A Norm of Continuous Improvement

These are expectations about the business of teaching. By the nature of the talk they hear, the advice they are given, the meetings they witness, and the appraisals they receive, teachers learn a stance toward classroom practice. They learn either to pursue the connections between teaching and learning with aggressive curiosity and healthy skepticism, or to take as self-evidently effective those tactics that appear to sustain some measure of interest, achievement, and decorum among a reasonably large number of students.

Experiences at work may serve to convince newcomers that the struggle to become a good teacher will be painful but short; or, on the other hand, such experiences may build a view that good teaching requires continuous and persistent curiosity, analysis, experimentation, and evaluation. To the extent that teachers believe "learning on the job" to be the exclusive task of the beginning teacher, they are unlikely to view staff development as an integral part of work in schools, i.e., a feature of the work that bears equally on everybody. If evaluation is treated as an annual administrative chore for the principal and the continued analysis of apparently workable methods as unnecessary, the kinds of evaluation and analysis attempted through staff development may appear superfluous or offensive. To the extent that teachers view improvements in knowledge and practice as never ending, they may value staff development and place increasingly stringent and sophisticated demands on the nature and quality of assistance. Where analysis, evaluation, and experimentation are treated as tools of the profession, designed to make work better (and easier), and where such work is properly the work of the teacher, teachers can be expected to look to staff development to help provoke questions, organize analysis, generate evidence of progress, and design differences in approach.

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[1] The use of the term "norm" here highlights the social and collective nature of these expectations. Without denying that there are differences among individuals (i.e., that some persons are more curious, self-confident, independent than others), teachers' accounts reveal shared expectations to be powerful organizational forces. They are not simply matters for individual preference; they are, instead, based in shared knowledge of the behavior--the talk and the action--that is appropriately part of being a teacher. Such shared knowledge is accumulated in the course of daily interaction on the job. It is displayed in small and large ways, day after day, as teachers go about their work. It is the basis on which persons engage with others and on which they interpret what they see and hear.

The relative power of these competing views of practice is particularly at issue in desegregating schools, where persons are asked to recast their shared aims (e.g., by adding goals of equity to goals of academic achievement), to judge the adequacy of their classroom practices by new criteria (e.g., by effects on intergroup relations as well as by effects on cognitive understanding), and to do both of these while living in the fishbowl of a large-scale social experiment.

In sum, staff development appears to have greatest prospects for influence where there is a prevailing norm of analysis, evaluation, and experimentation--a norm that may be unsupported by persons' actual experiences in learning to manage new and unfamiliar circumstances and that (in teachers' eyes) calls for a stability and a security that are in short supply as schools integrate.

Still, norms of collegiality and experimentation do prevail in some desegregated schools more than others, and among some groups more than others within schools. On the evidence, the social organization of the school is powerful in determining teachers' latitude to innovate with respect to classroom practice, with respect to more broadly shared aims and arrangements (e.g., those bearing on equity), and with respect to relations with colleagues. Our curiosity here, then, must be: By what routine practices, in what situations, among what persons is that latitude discovered and expressed?

B. AN INVENTORY OF WORK PRACTICES

As teachers describe their work, they replace broad interpretations (e.g., a "close" faculty) with situationally specific portrayals of daily interaction. Drawing from interviews and from observations in six schools, we have constructed an illustrative inventory of teachers' interactions with each other, with administrators, specialists, and staff developers. Each of the characteristic interactions displayed in Figure 1 can be specified by the relevant and probable actors (*who* interacts with *whom*), by its social location (classroom, faculty lounge, department meeting) and by the business at hand (exchanging materials, designing curriculum, swapping classroom war stories). Arguing the merits of an approach with the principal is thus understood to be a different event from wrangling over the same approach with fellow teachers; and either of those events assumes different import when conducted alone in a hallway than it does when played out in a faculty meeting in the presence of others.

Each of these situated interactions places more or less extensive demand on teachers' time, knowledge, experience, and good will. Each contributes in different measure to persons' competence, confidence, influence, and satisfaction. Each appears to be more or less powerful in fostering schoolwide norms of collegiality and experimentation. And each, finally, is more or less firmly a part of "being a teacher" in any one of the six schools.

C. A RANGE OF INTERACTION IN SIX SCHOOLS

Teachers distinguish interactions they typically pursue from those involvements that are "none of my business," "not my job," or "not right." While there are, predictably, variations among individual teachers in any single building, there also appear to be prevailing *patterns* of approved and disapproved interactions in each of the six schools. Lending and borrowing materials and asking for occasional advice are favored modes of interaction in all buildings, but advocating the adoption of a new idea is acceptable in just four of six schools and is actively encouraged by teachers in only one school. Extensive discussion of teaching practice ensues in three faculty lounges, but typically stops short of an invitation to observe. Teachers in five buildings spoke of their willingness to work together to resolve problems related to student behavior (e.g., being late to class), but in three of those buildings were hesitant to take a collective stand on interpreting curriculum in the classroom. Interactions pursued routinely in one school are considered out of line in another; interactions thought useful by one group of teachers may be dismissed as a waste of time by another; and involvements that receive official sanction and support in one school may go unrewarded in another.

Thus, schools are distinguished from one another by the interactions that are encouraged, discouraged or met with some degree of indifference. In particular, four broad classes of interaction appear to distinguish the relatively more successful from relatively less successful schools, and to distinguish those schools (or settings within schools) where staff development has been credited with influence from those in which staff development

FIGURE I

AN ILLUSTRATIVE INVENTORY OF CHARACTERISTIC TEACHER INTERACTIONS IN SIX SCHOOLS

Lend and borrow materials.
Create a shared file of materials.
*Design and prepare materials.
Review materials or books.
Assign materials or books to grade level or course.
*Design curriculum units.
*Research materials and ideas for curriculum.
*Write curriculum.
*Prepare lesson plans.
*Review/discuss existing lesson plans.
Ask for project ideas.
Ask for classroom management ideas.
Ask for help with specific problems of instruction.
Ask for help with specific discipline problems.
Praise other teachers.
Criticize others.
Refer one teacher to another for an idea.
*Credit new ideas and programs.
Discredit new ideas or programs.
*Persuade others to try an idea/approach.
Dissuade others from an idea/approach.
Describe to others an attempt to try something new.
Make collective agreements to participate in a program (e.g., inservice).
*Make collective agreements to test an idea.
Trade teaching assignments/groups.
*Invite other teachers to observe.
*Observe other teachers.
Argue over theory, philosophy, approach.
Confront other teachers on issues of race (e.g., "disparaging remarks").
*Analyze practices and effects.
Praise individual students or classes.
Criticize or complain about individual students or classes.
*Teach others in formal inservice.
Make reports to others in meetings.
*Teach others informally.
*Talk "publicly" about what one is learning or wants to learn.
Attend inservices as groups or teams.
Talk about social/personal life.
Play cards.
Have a beer on Fridays.
Present evidence for student "staffing."
Spread the word about good classes or workshops.
Offer reassurance when others upset.
Ask informally about what is being covered in other grade levels, classes.
*Convert book chapters to reflect new approach (e.g., mastery learning).
Act as a "buddy" to new teachers.
Suggest that others "try this."
Divide up administrative chores.
Team teach (voluntary).
Team teach (involuntary).
Participate on committees.
Plan how to use new curriculum packages.
Defend or explain specific classroom practices.
Plan how to handle new grade level or course assignment.
*Design inservice.
Work on presentation for conference out of building.
Reach group agreement on solutions to schoolwide problems.
Decide how to use aides.†
Train aides.†
Complain about aides.†
*Evaluate performance of principals.
Give advice to others when asked.
Make suggestions without being asked.

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*Critical practices of success and adaptability.

†Elementary schools only.

has been peripheral. What we term here "critical practices of adaptability" are those by which teachers *in interaction with others*:

> *Talk* about the practice of teaching (as distinct from talk about the characteristics of students, the social lives of teachers, the influences on schools wrought by families, the district or society in general).
>
> *Observe* the practice of teaching (i.e., observe others' teaching and are observed by others).
>
> *Plan, design, research, evaluate, and prepare* the materials of teaching.
>
> *Teach* each other the practice of teaching; *learn* from and with each other.

These four classes of interaction account for 29 percent of the total inventory of reported teachers' interactions with other adults at work. Pursued consistently, widely, and with a persistent attention to classroom practice, these interactions appear to be central to school success and adaptability. Defined as *practices*, they are also subject to persons' deliberate attempts to sustain them, alter them, or measure them.[1]

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[1] In concentrating on these four arenas of teacher practices, we knowingly preclude consideration of certain other classes of practice that may bear directly or indirectly on school success in the hope of gaining situational specificity on these selected and apparently powerful aspects of school organization. For example, we will not address here the relative worth of specific classroom practices (e.g., individualization of curriculum or the use of group/team learning) in promoting greater achievement and intergroup equity in desegregated schools. Rather, we concentrate on those aspects of *collegial* interaction that are most likely to foster attention precisely to such practices and their relative worth. Second, we do not consider the array of practices that fail, on their face, to distinguish one school from another (e.g., lending and borrowing materials). We do recognize that such practices may appear to be nominal equivalents when merely listed in an inventory, yet turn out to be normatively distinct when examined closely in practice. We also recognize that the distinguishing features of our "critical practices" could be applied to the description and analysis of a full inventory of teacher interactions in a lengthier and more systematic exploration of the school setting, and that doing so would advance our understanding of the school as a workplace (and as a setting for staff development). For our more limited purposes, however, we propose that the selected "critical practices" not only discriminate among schools but also serve as appropriate targets of and resources for staff development activity.

1. Number of Interactions

Range of interaction is grasped most readily as the sheer number and diversity of activities that teachers and administrators take for granted as part of their work. In Figure 2, the range of characteristic interactions for each school has been displayed as (1) the percentage of the *total* inventory; (2) the percentage of all "critical practices." Schools are thereby distinguished on the basis of broad expectations for collegial interaction, and on the basis of specific support for discussion of classroom practice, mutual observation and critique, and shared efforts to design and prepare curriculum. Presumably, a school could exhibit a relatively narrow range of interactions, all of which were instrumentally directed to professional improvement. Or a school could conceivably show support for a broad range of interactions that touched only sporadically and superficially upon central issues of classroom practice. While our main interest here is the range of critical practices characteristic of each school, we acknowledge that the prospects for persons to stimulate or strengthen those practices might be contingent upon teachers' and administrators' present commitment to (or avoidance of) other complementary or competing practices.

> *The greater the proportion of total interactions focused on the "critical practices" of talk, observation, preparation and exploration (teaching each other), the higher the value placed on interdependence and the greater the contribution to norms of collegiality and evaluation/experimentation.*

The six schools display considerable variation in the range of critical practices that prevail. At Westlake, all eighteen critical practices are a part of the work life. At Reed, 83 percent of the critical practices are accepted, approved and even admired, but the tolerated range of "critical" practice in some departments is as low as 11 percent. At Park, too, variations are evident from department to department; even though there are departments (e.g., business education and one reading lab) that endorse and practice up to 40 percent of the critical practices, it is unclear to what extent that pattern is known to or admired by other departments.

On the whole, the relatively more successful schools appear to be those that support the broadest range of interactions by which teachers together talk about, watch, and conduct the practice of teaching. That is, these are schools that in the course of ordinary

FIGURE 2

RANGE OF COLLEGIAL INTERACTION
IN SIX SCHOOLS

		RANGE OF INTERACTION	
		Range of Total Inventory Characteristic of This School	Range of "Critical Practices" Characteristic of This School
Elementary Schools			
Carey	Relatively Less Successful	27%	22%
Smallwood	Relatively More Successful	47%	33%
Westlake		83%	100%
Secondary Schools			
Park High	Relatively Less Successful	21%	17%
Springer Jr. High	Relatively More Successful	34%	28%
Reed Jr. High		64%	83%

work foster collegial attention to the nature and effects of classroom practice.[1]

In the two relatively less successful schools, on the other hand, teachers' interaction is more narrowly bounded. Teachers at Carey and Park are more likely to avoid "serious" topics in the faculty lounge and to restrict department or grade level meetings to administrative business.

These findings are consistent with those reported by Rutter et al. (1979) that schools with comparable student populations were able to show more success where teachers engaged in shared planning and preparation. The patterns revealed by the six schools offer some illuminating contrasts and give rise to two related propositions:

> *The greater the number and diversity of interactions by which teachers plan, prepare for, observe, analyze the practice of teaching, the higher the value placed on interdependence and the greater the prospects that teachers' interactions will influence school success.*
>
> *The more restricted the number and diversity of interactions ("critical practices"), the greater the value placed on independence, the greater the indifference or resistance to shared work and the less the prospect that teachers' interaction will influence school success.*

Schools or departments where teachers credit staff development with influence are typically characterized by a broad range of interaction in some, if not all, of the four classes of critical practice. In the school with the most extensive, enthusiastic, and apparently consequential involvement with staff development, teachers can be found working together on projects after school, standing in hallways discussing instruction, using lunch breaks in the lounge to wrestle with the pros and cons of some new program, or planning together how to reschedule aide time to help non-English speaking students. In the math department at Reed Junior High, where an influence has also been felt, teachers spend time discussing practice, planning approaches to classroom instruction, preparing materials and teaching each other in one fashion or another.

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[1] By the standard of overall academic success, Springer Junior High would appear to be something of an anomaly here. Teachers say the faculty is "not very unified" and some even label it "cold." Success, it seems, can still be wrought in the absence of extensive collegial interaction. Teachers' accounts suggest, however, that the success reflected in test scores is not entirely uniform and that there are areas in which school performance has been problematic or uneven. They note that the low income black and hispanic students remain "outsiders," less successful both socially and academically than the middle-class white and hispanic students from the immediate neighborhood. Certainly this situation raises questions about the nature and extent of influence that staff collegiality exerts on group performance, intergroup relations and equity. By characterizing collegiality in terms of a specific inventory of practices, and by elaborating some of the characteristics that make those practices attractive or unattractive to teachers, we expect to lay the ground for more systematic study of these and related issues and to give some guidance to practical reform.

By contrast, in the schools where teachers are least attracted to staff development and see it as having little influence on their teaching, informal interactions among teachers are more narrowly bounded. Teachers expect to avoid "serious" topics when they are in the lounge, use grade level or department meetings exclusively for administrative business, avoid commitments for meetings before and after school, and limit their exchanges with peers to the lending and borrowing of materials or requests for occasional advice on a specific classroom problem. Schools where the range of "critical practices" is limited show less credited and observable staff development influence, even where they report some degree of formal involvement with staff development programs (as at Carey and Park).

This finding embroils us immediately in questions about chickens and eggs; the issue of causality has both theoretical and tactical relevance here. Is staff development successful only in settings that are properly "conducive," or can staff development be designed and conducted to *foster* the kinds of practices that are consistent with enduring effect? By teachers' accounts, the range of collegial interaction at Westlake School and in the math department at Reed was already relatively broad prior to those schools' recent involvement with staff development. Teachers at Westlake were accustomed to teaching each other ideas and approaches learned outside the school, and prided themselves on their collective efforts at problem solving. Teachers in the math department at Reed had routinely participated in collective review of course materials and texts and had made group decisions about how to integrate new materials so as to insure continuity across grade levels. Still, in both cases teachers report that their recent involvements have led to an expanded range of interactions. Teachers at Reed are discussing instructional practices in a manner, detail, and frequency that is new; teachers at Westlake report that being involved in this "staff development kind of situation" has made them more likely to raise and discuss problems or to propose some piece of team planning or preparation. Thus:

> *The greater the range of prevailing interactions and the higher the value placed on professional interdependence, the greater the prospects that involvement in staff development will expand teachers' repertoire of practices and will contribute to a norm of collegiality.*
>
> *The more restricted the range of prevailing interactions, the more important will be the ability of staff development to*

stimulate norms of collegiality and experimentation as a condition for influence.

The greater the distance between the range of interactions envisioned by staff development and those enacted by teachers and principals, the more likely that schools will be viewed as initially "resistant" to involvement in staff development.

2. Focus

By examining the range of relevant foci or topics of interaction in any one school, we expose the degree to which teachers' expectations extend to shared scrutiny of school aims and programs or classroom practice. The inventory of critical practices reveals differences among schools in the degree to which collegial relations require attention to matters of practice. The data support three arguments.

a. First, successful schools are distinguished by their relatively greater support for interactions that call for close and persistent attention to matters of practice; in these schools (and most markedly at Westlake), a norm of collegiality is coupled with a norm of evaluation, analysis, and experimentation. Success appears to be fostered by expectations that teachers and others will routinely describe and analyze entire classroom situations (not merely the recurring peccadilloes of individual students), that observing and being observed offer valuable insights, that shared planning and preparation strengthen the program while easing the burden, and that learning from one another is a function of working with one another.

By contrast, teachers in the less successful schools report that such interactions are less valued and less well supported by prevailing expectations in the building. In particular, the observations by teachers at Carey raise the issue of the potential risk to professional status and self-esteem that may ensue where interactions attend closely to classroom practice.

> I: How much do you all exchange ideas . . .?
>
> T: It's not consistent. . . . On an average, there seems to be an atmosphere of competition . . . the inference in some things: 'Well, I've done that. You mean you haven't done it?'
>
> (Teacher, Carey Elementary)

Among our critical practices, then, those that call for direct scrutiny and careful analysis of actual classroom practice prove both most useful and most risk-laden. The more closely that interactions move teachers to collegial investigation of classroom practice, the more likely one is to hear "that's not my job."

The more evident the tie to classroom practice in teachers' interactions with others, the greater the opportunity for those interactions to be viewed as useful, relevant, and satisfying and the greater the prospects that they will influence success.

The more evident the tie to (scrutiny of) classroom practice in teachers' interactions with others, the greater the potential risk and the more demanding the requirements for "support" (e.g., clear rewards for participation) as a condition for collegiality.

b. Second, schools that are adaptable in the face of change, that preserve high morale, confidence, and a record of success through changes in student population and district policy, are those where teachers stress that their collegiality is derived from collective attention to practice. Schools that stress the *social* basis of their cohesiveness, on the other hand, may be placed at a disadvantage when faced with new or unfamiliar circumstances. Recent experiences of Smallwood and Westlake serve to illustrate the difference.

Only a few blocks apart from one another, the two schools serve comparable populations of white and hispanic students who come from working-class and middle-class homes. Both schools have had reasonably strong showings on standardized achievement tests; each has a stable faculty whose members believe themselves to be competent, well-trained, well-equipped, and blessed with able peers and a good principal. Yet teachers at Smallwood display less ease and less ready adaptability in the face of change than do teachers at Westlake.

As a single example, teachers at Smallwood have responded to the recent immigration of non-English speaking students into the area by reluctantly "volunteering" two teachers to participate in a series of training sessions and by expressing the hope that they "don't get any of those students." (Confronted with such students they will, if history offers any clue, turn to each other for help and advice.) Teachers at Westlake (who have a few such students but not enough "to be a real problem") have enthusiastically volunteered for training, have arranged for an aide to be trained, have received with interest the reports of the teachers being trained in English as a second language, have discussed creating or modifying mastery learning units to accommodate such children, and have given some thought about how to adapt the specialized training in this area to broader use in the regular classroom. The differences between schools are in part differences between an instrumental and a social form of collegiality; the difference in outcome is one of demonstrated adaptability and sense of efficacy in the face of change.

The more consistently evident is the tie to classroom practice in teachers' interactions, the greater the repertoire of resources on which persons can rely in managing change, *and the greater the influence on schools' adaptability and teachers' sense of efficacy.*

c. Third, schools where teachers credit staff development with influence are those where collegial interactions are as a matter of course focused on matters of classroom practice. At Westlake and Reed, where involvement in staff development has led teachers to alter their practice in ways that they believe have improved student performance and behavior and improved faculty relations, teachers' interactions permit close and frequent attention to classroom practice. In both schools, teachers have worked together to plan and write curriculum units, work that requires teachers to analyze in some detail the specific knowledge and skills that students must master, the order in which they must master them, and the appropriate means for introducing ideas, practicing, and testing skill. At Westlake, teachers' habits of shared work enable them to make use of workshop ideas even when those ideas are not already fully developed (i.e., not already "practical"). Two teachers designed and implemented a program of music instruction in Braille on the basis of a single workshop:

> It was a good inservice and it certainly didn't teach us everything we needed to know but enough to get inspired to start doing something. . . .
>
> (Teacher, Westlake Elementary)

At Carey, formal participation in programs of staff development has produced little recognized effect; but here, teachers speculate that their view of and participation in staff development would change *if* teachers themselves worked together more frequently and with greater attention to improved practices of teaching:

> . . . like the [needs assessment] meeting that you saw, I didn't feel that that was really successful because, you know, we're writing these little chart paper things and we're putting them up on the wall and nobody really cares . . . and it's just futile, just a waste of time. Now, if *we* took that time and sat around and talked about gee, how can we plan this and how can we plan that . . . then we're going to get somewhere.
>
> (Teacher, Carey Elementary)

So:

The more firmly established and widely accepted are teachers' expectations for talking about, observing, planning, and learning about classroom practice with colleagues, the greater the receptivity to staff development and the greater the prospects for influence.

The greater the distance between the topics considered appropriate by staff development and those approved by and pursued among teachers, the greater the likely indifference *or resistance to staff development and the fewer the prospects for influence.*

3. Location

As they describe their work with others, teachers reveal how the habitual ways of looking upon places and times of work serves to encourage or discourage collegiality and experimentation. The issue here is the extent to which teaching practice is reserved to classrooms or to which it is discussed, studied and worked throughout the school day and across a range of situations. In some schools, topics raised in department meetings are deemed unnecessarily serious for the faculty lounge.[1] Classroom practice may be described to colleagues outside the classroom, but not actually observed for purposes of more systematic analysis. Complaints and problems may be aired among friends in the hallway, but unarticulated and unresolved in the larger faculty meeting.

In the relatively successful schools, talk about teaching is likely to be heard anywhere. Joint planning does not require a special meeting, but can be pursued over lunch or free periods, wherever people happen to find themselves. Teachers engage in problem-solving over the lunch table, use the lounge to hash over the merits of materials, classroom approaches and specific instructional tactics, wander into the principal's office to try out an idea, and use department meetings to arrive at decisions about curriculum and course design. A broad range of social locations appears to contribute to a sense of collegiality and to school success.

In the less successful schools, teachers were more likely to report that they restrict formal meetings to administrative business and were more likely to consider the faculty lounge off limits to "serious" topics.

> . . . they're tired, they're tired. I, for one, do not want to go in there--I will talk about a child sometimes, depending, if something funny happened or something bad or whatever--but usually I want to get away from it.
>
> (Teacher, Carey Elementary)

Quite simply, there are relatively few occasions and relatively few places during the course of the school day where teachers find themselves in one another's presence. The more of those occasions and places that are considered appropriate for professional work, the more support there appears to be for a norm of collegiality.[1]

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[1] Lieberman and Miller (1979) observe that the kinds of jousting and griping that so frequently characterize faculty lounge talk serve to place a limit on analysis and action; teachers who persist in more extended or serious pursuit of educational aims and issues are "good-naturedly dissuaded from continuing." (p. 61).

> *The greater the range of social locations in which teachers interact with others around matters of practice, the higher the visibility of such interaction to teachers and students and the greater the contribution to a norm of collegiality.*
>
> *The greater the range of social locations in which teachers interact with others around matters of practice, the greater the volume of opportunities for shared work and the greater the prospects that teachers' interactions will influence school success.*
>
> *The greater the range of social locations in which teachers take up the business of teaching (as distinct from social or administrative topics), the greater the contribution to a norm supporting analysis, interpretation, and experimentation.*

Similarly, staff development appears most influential in buildings where professional, collegial work pervades every corner and where staff developers (and the topics they raise) are welcome throughout the building.[2] A teacher at Park High School observes that a curriculum supervisor who is held in high regard "makes herself a member of the staff" when in the building. The mastery learning coordinator at Westlake is in and out of classrooms, present in meetings, a visitor in the lounge.

> *The greater the range of locations in which teachers pursue collegial work, the greater the opportunity for work considered "staff development" to be integrated as part of the work day, and the greater its prospects for influence.*
>
> *The greater the range of school settings in which staff development can stimulate or strengthen collegial interaction*

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[1] Miller and Wolf (1979) describe staff developers' efforts to stimulate norms of collegiality and experimentation by constructing a "new" social location in a school; in the teacher resource room that they established, staff developers conducted conversations with teachers that "modeled" the norms they sought and that introduced new possibilities for interaction without overtly challenging the prevailing interactions in the teachers' lounge or in faculty meetings.

[2] This raises the tactical issue of how staff developers gain entry to a broad array of school settings, and how they establish their relevance there. Teachers complain that staff development "resource people" don't get past the office, while staff development personnel wonder how to make themselves known and visible without intruding unnecessarily in a busy work day.

> *among teachers, the greater the prospects for building a norm of collegiality.*

4. Actors and Others

Teachers notice and report *who* is likely to interact in what ways with *whom*. They describe some interactions that engage teachers but not administrators (and vice versa). They describe interactions favored by some faculty but not others, and in so doing lay some of the grounds for identifying various cliques and camps. And they describe those occasions on which teachers engage in interaction with administrators, specialists, and outsiders.

Schools are distinguished by the number and range of persons participating in actions defined here as "critical." On the whole, successful schools engross a broader number and range of staff in the kinds of interactions we have argued here to be critical to success. Westlake is described by its staff as a school where everyone "belongs" and where principal, teachers, and even aides are engaged in a perennial effort to upgrade the school program. Teachers report there are no cliques and that everyone is involved in everything from inservices to casual discussions about classroom practice over the lunch table. Teachers and principal work together on classroom projects and curriculum units; faculty meetings spark lively discussions (and even "sharp disagreements") among the entire staff about the relative merits of particular ideas or programs.

In the less successful schools, persons engaged in such interactions are less visible schoolwide, less often rewarded by peers or administrators[1] for their collegial work. At Carey and Park, for example, teachers describe some alliances among pairs of teachers but remark that even the practice of exchanging materials is not widespread.

These contrasting patterns give rise to two propositions:

> *The greater the number and variety of staff who endorse and participate in practices of discussion, observation, planning, and exploration, the higher the value placed on interdependence and the greater the prospects for those interactions to influence school success.*

> *The greater the status and authority of participants who endorse and enact these "critical practices," the more evident the*

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[1] Teachers at Park tend to characterize their peers as typically unsupportive of collegial work, but observe several ways in which the newly assigned principal is acting deliberately to encourage joint efforts and to increase the degree of collegial interaction between teachers and administrators.

> *the sanction for participation and the greater the prospects for influence.*

Because the school is a social organization, teachers are mindful of others who may not in fact be involved but whose influence is somehow felt; that is, teachers and administrators take into account a host of persons and groups who are socially relevant even if not physically present. In talking with the principal about some new program, a teacher is likely to take into account the subsequent demands that may be placed on fellow teachers. At Carey, one teacher reported that teachers had become hesitant about voicing enthusiasm over new ideas or about raising problems because such expressions of interest had a way of turning into formal programs. At Springer, a teacher who found past involvements with staff development valuable nonetheless avoids long-term pullout programs because of the strain generated with other teachers and the confusion wrought among students after two weeks with a substitute. And at Smallwood, the principal sought to accommodate the interests and concerns of teachers skeptical about a new affective education program by making one of their number chairman of the program design committee.

Thus:

> *The more closely that persons' collegial interactions or their experimental efforts touch upon actual practice, the more pressing will be the demand to accommodate others' interests and obligations.*
>
> *The greater the range of staff engaged in interactions that are collegial or experimental, the more predictably and successfully will those interactions take into account group interests and obligations, and the more assured will be persons' support for the interaction.*

Staff development has had the most enduring influence where it has operated in school settings where all teachers and principal are engaged in the routine examination of present practice and future possibilities, i.e., where participation in collegial, innovative ventures is broadly inclusive.

In their early involvements with Westlake School, staff development designers had the advantage of a setting in which teachers viewed themselves as a group with a collective commitment to work through problems of the sort posed by the desegregation paired-schools arrangement. Over time, partnerships between the school and staff development helped to expand the participation of teachers and principal in the description and analysis of practice, the design and preparation of curriculum, and the reciprocal discovery and testing of new ideas.

> *The greater the range of participants engaged in critical practices of discussion, observation, preparation, and teaching, the higher the value placed on interdependence*

with others and the greater the prospects for staff development to exert an influence.

The more narrow the range of participants engaged in selected key practices, the less immediate the influence of staff development, the more likely will be initial indifference or resistance and the greater the requirements for a strategy that stimulates broader participation.

D. CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERACTION

We have so far an outline of the way in which shared expectations for specific classes of shared work in schools differentiate one school from another, and in which such differences are bound up with issues of school success and staff development. We have gained some ground in specifying the work situation by "mapping" certain key interactions in this fashion:

$$\text{WHO is} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{required} \\ \text{encouraged} \\ \text{permitted} \\ \text{tolerated} \\ \text{discouraged} \\ \text{prohibited} \end{array} \right\} \text{WHAT, WHERE, and by WHOM?}$$

As it stands, the inventory of critical practices distinguishes only the business that is nominally transacted when teachers get together: exchanging materials, writing curriculum, praising or condemning students or administrators or each other. As teachers further describe these interactions, however--as they talk about practices that go well or badly or perhaps not at all--they also distinguish certain *social* accomplishments. In the course of exchanging materials, for example, teachers may convey their confidence in or contempt for one another, may consolidate or erode their commitment to shared work with colleagues, and may confirm or jeopardize the belief that practice deserves attention and analysis. In effect, they describe *how* work with others is conducted to make it more or less satisfying and useful.

1. "Practicality": The Standard of Concreteness

Teachers judge the extent to which their interactions with others capture the complexities of day-to-day classroom practice; these are judgments of *concreteness*. Concreteness is revealed first and foremost in *talk*; it requires that teachers and others command a language and set of concepts for describing and analyzing the practice of teaching. Schools vary in the degree to which the language used by teachers to describe practice is adequate to the demands of "concreteness."

We found that in the relatively more successful schools (and particularly at Reed and Westlake where teachers discuss classroom strategies at length), teachers were more likely to reveal in interviews and in their interaction with each other an elaborate and detailed vocabulary for describing and analyzing teaching. In the less successful schools, such a vocabulary was harder to find; rather, an elaborate vocabulary existed for summarizing students' success or failure, detailing students' characteristics or behavior, or speculating about family background. From the talk of these latter teachers there emerged a powerful sense either of efficacy or impotence, but only in rare instances the sort of detailed description that would permit an experienced teacher to inform a newcomer to the field or that would lead experienced teachers to view each others' descriptions as practical advice.

Teachers who describe their work in terms like "humanistic approach" may succeed in establishing some broad ideological affiliation but do little to reveal how their daily practices are in fact similar or dissimilar to those of other teachers.[1] A teacher at Springer observes that she has watched teachers ask each other for help and that the advice "never seems worth it." By her own accounts of the first years on the job, she reveals the kind of detailed analysis of practice that would be required to make practical sense out of the advice to "be firm." In a first translation of that advice, this teacher prepared a long list of rules, spent a lot of time yelling at students and generally sought control through force. Through later approximations, she arrived at a routine for stating a few central rules for behavior and classwork, and using tone of voice to signal students when they were nearing the boundaries. In a similar account, a teacher at Reed reports that only in her third year did she learn how to view and to manage "the first five minutes" of a class. In both these instances, a more precise descriptive and analytic language, shared among and used by teachers, might have advanced practice and aided confidence in ways that the summary admonition to "be firm" could not possibly do. Thus:

> *The more concrete the language known to and commanded by teachers and others for the description, analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of teaching practice, the greater the probable utility of the interaction and the greater the potential influence on teachers' practices.*
>
> *The more concrete the language by teachers and others for the descriptions, analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of practice, the greater are the prospects that persons will reduce risk ("threat") by separating judgments of specific practices from judgments of personal worth and competence, and*

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[1] Mary Haywood Metz (1978) shows how reliance on categorical descriptors of practice serves to preserve (ideological) clique boundaries while precluding opportunities to discover--by more precise description--areas of commonality among groups.

the greater the prospects for a growing commitment to norms of collegiality and experimentation.

Assuming some technical command of a language precise enough to make shared work properly "practical," there remains the issue of those occasions on which teachers or administrators can permissibly *display* such language. At Westlake, teachers value and continually employ a language that is concrete and precise; at Reed, math department members have come increasingly to value and use the language of mastery learning to describe classroom situations and lesson plans and to report gains and raise problems. Yet in most of the other schools (and in other departments at Reed), the occasions are rare indeed on which teachers are pressed for and assisted in detailed descriptions and analyses of practice. Work conducted in groups (e.g. department meetings) is often enough of a purely administrative character to reveal little of one's approach to classroom instruction or classroom order. Some teachers report failed attempts to introduce descriptions of practice into these settings:

> A lot of times we've tried to get these idea exchanges going, you know, like somebody runs off a lesson plan for everybody in the department. Well, that works about once, you know. I mean everybody brings one lesson and then, you know, they're all doing their own thing again. I don't know, it just hasn't worked.
>
> (Teacher, Reed Junior High)

Some teachers at Carey and Park who displayed considerable facility with such descriptive language and considerable insight into the complexities of classroom practice find that the *use* of such knowledge in ordinary discourse at work is discouraged; discussions that are technically possible are not socially permissible. In the course of evaluation conferences, teachers' descriptions of practice are most likely to take the form of "explanations," aimed at reconciling differences in interpretation by principal and teacher. Ironically, the most skilled teachers may be least often called upon to "explain" their practices; to the extent that these teachers consistently receive favorable evaluations, they are least often placed in a position to reveal their own understanding of what they do, how, why, and with what apparent consequences.

Thus:

The more widely permitted and encouraged the use *of language that is precisely descriptive and analytic, the more likely that "concrete" understanding of practice will be revealed in interaction, and the greater the prospects that interactions will influence teachers' practice.*

The more widely used the language of description and analysis, the more it exposes the knowledge, skill, and experience of teachers and administrators, and the greater the potential *risk to professional standing and self-esteem; thus the greater the influence of prevailing norms that support or inhibit such interaction.*

Schools vary in the extent to which "concreteness" of interaction is permissibly revealed through observation. Most teachers gain only occasional glimpses (literally from doorways and "in passing") of the work of other teachers. Opportunities to *see* the range of actual teaching practice are severely limited, even in the more successful schools.[1] At Westlake, an exception, observation is a frequent and comfortable practice. At Smallwood, observation is practiced on a limited basis to assist teachers faced with new or unfamiliar situations.

Observation remains far more highly valued than it is regularly practiced. On the whole, teachers have found observation extraordinarily useful on the relatively rare occasions when they have been able to arrange it:

> I realize that there is a possibility of educational leave. I mean I could go out and observe . . . because I've done it a few times in the past and boy have I learned. I learned so much.
>
> (Teacher, Springer Junior High)

Thus:

The more permissible and regularly practiced is reciprocal observation, the greater the opportunity for interactions to be made "concrete," the more likely that persons will view collegial interactions as useful and influential.

The more widely practiced is mutual observation, the greater the exposure of persons' knowledge, skill, and experience, the greater the demand on prevailing norms of collegiality to reduce risk and sustain the interaction.

Work routines that foster a highly focused and concrete attention to matters of practice prove conducive to staff development. Westlake, where staff development is credited with most influence and viewed with most favor, has cultivated for several years among its staff a habit of shared work that is specifically, continuously directed to improving program and practice. Thus:

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[1] Ironically, taboos against observation remove a valued opportunity for "learning" but do not protect individuals against undue scrutiny or the judgments of others. Teachers *do* characterize the performance of others even while they protest that differences in practice are "just a matter of philosophy." They glance in at doorways, they listen to talk among students, they notice what knowledge, skills, and habits students bring from previous classes, and in turn they form admiring, indifferent or contemptuous views of their peers. Yet they frequently conduct their work lives *as if* differences in teaching practice were inconsequential either for the present lives and future prospects of students or for their own professional status.

> *The more concretely evident is the tie to actual practice in routine work interactions, the greater the support for a norm of analysis, evaluation, and experimentation, and the greater the receptivity to staff development.*

2. Reciprocity

Teachers report that in the course of daily interactions they are looked up to, looked down on, treated to a greater or lesser extent "like professionals." They note where they do (or do not) have a say, and how much influence that say is accorded. All of these are judgments of *reciprocity*; they reflect teachers' and administrators' understanding about who has the right or obligations to watch, comment upon, evaluate or try to improve classroom practice. They generate an image of interactions in which persons are more or less skilled at (or committed to) portraying all parties as knowledgeable and competent contributors. Occasions designed to celebrate teachers' experience and knowledge are seen as reciprocal; thus, invitations to participate on curriculum writing teams, department-wide efforts to redesign curriculum, joint efforts to prepare or review materials, and "partnership" arrangements with staff development to translate promising theory into practice are all instances of reciprocal interaction.

Interactions that are constructed (intentionally or not) to cast one party as an expert and a second as somehow "deficient" are not reciprocal and place social standing and self-esteem in jeopardy; lectures on topics remote from classroom experience, infrequent offers of "help" from outsiders unfamiliar with the daily reality of a building or classrooms, and most observations or evaluations are instances of nonreciprocal interaction.

Our particular interest here is in the degree of reciprocity required for participation in collegial talk, observation, preparation and planning, and exploration.[1] Reciprocal interaction, it appears, would require the view that persons' practices are neither private nor sacred but are rather the tools of a profession and open to judgments of worth and relevance. By this view, teachers are professionals who select, develop, change, and use practices in accordance with their utility and demonstrated effect. On a daily basis, this means that discussion of individuals' practices is necessary, cannot be forbidden or avoided, and must be pursued with a type of tact and deference that permits persons to separate their habits from their self-respect. The stakes are high; the gains, where felt, have been impressive, yet the risks are readily apparent. Conducting interactions along these lines seems to require a language and a demeanor by which reciprocity is continually confirmed: mutual scrutiny requires mutual deference.

On the whole, teachers in successful schools are more likely to report reciprocal involvement in at least some of the four classes of critical practice. At the extreme, teachers at Westlake engage each other and the principal (and occasional outside visitors or consultants) in a detailed review of practice, in observation and critique,[2] in joint planning and preparation of materials and curriculum, in proposing and judging the merits of new ideas or programs. Teachers report that they can argue theory and practice without jeopardizing social relations. And they credit the principal with acting like a colleague in matters of educational practice, though they also recognize his rights to control certain decisions, take certain initiatives, and take the lead in sustaining a direction for the school.

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[1] Teachers are also arguably acting in reciprocal fashion when they tacitly agree to leave one another alone. This might be termed a reciprocity of mutual tolerance. Reciprocal non-interaction of this sort is buttressed by claims to personal "styles" and by claims that differences among teachers' practice are matters of "mere philosophy." Arguments of this sort were heard from teachers in every school but Westlake (where teachers celebrate the fact that "we share a philosophy of teaching"). By this argument, evidence gained by close scrutiny is unnecessary and irrelevant, since various "philosophies" are equally consequential with respect to stated goals (e.g., achievement or equity). If true, it is both futile and impolite to urge persons toward a close examination of practice. If untrue, then mutual tolerance and descriptions of "mere philosophy" are rendered suspect.

[2] Even the right to "public" evaluation of others' performance has been made symmetrical at Westlake by the school's recent participation in a climate assessment study designed by Zigarmi and Edeburn (1976); the Zigarmi instrument offers teachers the opportunity to evaluate the performance of the principal.

At Westlake, a predictable reciprocity has served to build and confirm expectations for extensive participation in interactions by which practices are subject to regular scrutiny and improvement, ideas are publicly discussed and judged, and innovation is a matter for collective debate.

> T: Many people disagree on the best way of helping kids to learn. I'm sure my theories would be different from Joe's, for example.
>
> I: Is that ever a topic of conversation?
>
> T: Oh yeah, yeah. Not so much here in the mastery part of it as in the precision teaching part of it because we disagree on it. And it isn't so much that we disagree on the precision [theory] as the way it's done . . . about translation of theory. . . . We have some pretty outspoken people around here. We have some hot arguments at times, I guess, but it doesn't carry over anywhere else as far as I know. . . . I'm convinced that that's the key to success or failure of any new or innovative program: you've got to have a staff that is willing to take an extra step. And then if they're sold on the idea then they've got to stand up and be counted.
>
> (Teacher, Westlake Elementary)

A teacher at Westlake comments that teachers are not criticized for not wanting to participate in a particular workshop, or for declaring disinterest in a particular idea. Yet by teachers' accounts here, criticism would certainly ensue if a single teacher refused support for a program widely endorsed by others, or if a teacher persistently revealed little interest in improvement or innovation. The limits of mutual tolerance are demonstrably different here than they are, for example, in schools where grade levels or department chairmen claim it is not their prerogative to advocate a particular stand on curriculum or practice. Such distinctions, together with the general emphasis on "professional treatment" among experienced teachers, suggest three propositions:

> *The greater the reciprocity reflected in interactions during which classroom practice is discussed, observed, planned, and taught, the greater the contribution to a shared norm of analysis and experimentation and the greater the prospects for influence on school success.*
>
> *The more consistent and stringent the focus on classroom practice, the greater the demands for reciprocity in interaction, and the greater the prospects for resistance in its absence.*
>
> *The more extensive a teacher's experience, the greater will be the demands for reciprocity in interaction with others.*

The success of staff development is predictably bound up with issues of reciprocity. Schools in which relations among teachers are highly reciprocal and in which reciprocity extends to shared examination of present practice and to testing of new ideas appear more receptive to staff development. Such a setting permits teachers to extend the limited resources of staff development by supporting one another in understanding and applying new ideas on a day-to-day basis. Thus:

> *The greater the degree of reciprocity evident in teachers' and administrators' interactions, the greater the support for a norm of collegiality and evaluation/experimentation and the greater the prospects that staff development will exert influence.*

3. Relevance

Some interactions more than others enable teachers or administrators to satisfy the obligations of their job; these are judgments of *relevance*. Insofar as collegial participation in discussion, observations, and the like are relevant in schools, it will be by virtue of a demonstrable tie to professional status, job security, or social acceptance; this is an argument for the social and organizational relevance of such practices, quite apart from personal commitments or preferences that lead some individuals more than others to seek or avoid them.

Schools are distinguished by the degree to which such interactions are situationally relevant. The clearest and most enduring case of relevance has been established at Westlake, where in past years teachers' jobs rode on their demonstrated willingness to engage in mutual reflection, assistance, and innovation. (Teachers remember that the principal managed a reduction-in-force to eliminate two teachers who enjoyed seniority but who had refused to join with the rest of the faculty in preparing for a new reading package.) Now (with more contract restrictions on principals' rights to transfer or fire) teachers still acknowledge that rewards and prestige accrue to those who display themselves committed to collective improvement. In hiring a new teacher, the principal made explicit the requirements for participation in a mastery learning approach and for agreement to join with the others in regular inservice education. Similarly, at Smallwood and Reed, teachers tie prestige to demonstrated collegiality as well as to reputed success in the classroom.

Teachers at Park, Carey, and Springer were less inclined to find collegiality and experimentation situationally relevant; it was less clear in these schools that one's job, one's formal evaluation, and one's informal standing among peers rested on demonstrable participation in interactions of those sorts.[1]

The more relevant the interaction--the more clear it is that participation in critical practices of discussion, observation, shared planning, and learning are required to satisfy the formal and informal obligations of the job--the greater the prospects that the interaction will influence teachers' practices and school success.

The contrasts among schools in the relevance of collegiality and innovation reveal something of the way that the reputation for being a "good teacher" is formulated and may explain some differences in receptivity to staff development. In schools where collegiality and innovation are little noticed and rarely celebrated, the approval of one's peers seems to require little more than that one mind one's own business and manage enough classroom order so as not to burden one's neighbors; among some teachers at Park, that is the apparent standard. For others, reputed success in the classroom is the principal standard; some teachers at Park, Carey, and Springer praised their peers in these terms. And among still other schools or groups, being a "good teacher" requires some demonstrated competence in the classroom *plus* some demonstrated commitment to shared discussion and work. A standard that combines classroom performance and collegiality is in evidence at Westlake, Smallwood and among some groups at Reed and Springer.

Staff development has had its greatest success where participation in a norm of collegiality and experimentation is viewed by teachers and administrators alike as an integral part of the job. Where relevance is less clear, the outlook for initial acceptance or early gains is correspondingly less certain.

The greater the perceived relevance of the "critical practices," the greater the prospects for staff development to exert influence.

Relevance may be clouded by external influences that compete with or overshadow values applied in a building. There is some evidence here, for example, that desegregation created so much dislocation, pressure, and scrutiny that frank review of practices was discouraged; in a complex and unfamiliar situation, the gains were too uncertain, too long in coming, and too often disputed to hold their own against the risk of exposure. Teachers responded by attempting to shift the target of scrutiny elsewhere (e.g., the adequacy of the curriculum, the nature of family backgrounds, the disruption in neighborhood support with the onset of busing, the tensions that were exacerbated rather than relieved by court-ordered human relations training). While some teachers responded to the complexities of desegregation by turning increasingly to their peers for assistance, others cultivated tactics for limiting any scrutiny of classroom practices. According to some reports, grading high will keep parents at bay, and avoiding office referrals will limit attention from administrators.

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[1] New principals at Park and Springer are visibly engaged in campaigns to alter the situational relevance of these lines of work by tying formal evaluation and informal status to demonstrated involvement in individual and school improvement.

> *The more demanding the interactions and the more pressing the circumstances, the greater will be the perceived risk in participation and the more salient will be official sanctions in generating participation.*

4. Frequency of Interaction

In a work situation where time is a valued, coveted, even disputed form of currency, teachers can effectively discount any interaction by declaring it a "waste of time." Thus the sheer frequency of interaction among teachers must be taken as a clue to its relative importance. The more frequent the interaction, the more likely that it assumes the status of a "habit." At Carey, one of the least collegial schools, teachers muse about spending occasional planning days to talk together about classroom practice and curriculum; in this school, even the exchange of materials is sporadic. At Smallwood, by contrast, a moderate range of interactions assumes great importance in part because of the regularity with which teachers pursue them. Teachers here don't merely lend and borrow materials, for example; they create shared files of materials, and they consciously keep an eye out for materials they know another teacher might want. And in the most collegial schools, teachers talk about teaching daily over the lunch table and in other small, cumulative ways act as colleagues on a continual basis.

The temptation, clearly, is to associate frequent interaction with professional growth. On the evidence, however, it appears that frequency is inseparable from judgments of worth and relevance; where teachers believe that shared talk or work will contribute to their knowledge, skill or satisfaction, frequent involvement confirms a habit of collegiality and analysis and permits effects of collegiality to become apparent. Where teachers are in doubt about the usefulness of these involvements, however, frequent contact appears to reduce interest in collegial work. At Carey, for example, teachers are hesitant to arrange meetings to discuss curriculum because they find other meetings that they must attend a "waste of time." Thus:

> *The greater the frequency of interaction, the greater the prospects for it to* build or erode *commitment to collegiality and the more salient are teachers' views of its utility, interest, and importance.*

Certainly at Westlake the demands on teachers' time during the last several years' work on mastery learning have been extraordinary. Nor are teachers at Westlake martyrs, by some quirk of fate more dedicated, committed (or crazy) than teachers in other schools. They acknowledge the severe demand on their time, but credit that investment with a powerful and positive effect on their work. Now, with demonstrated command over mastery teaching, they anticipate modifying some of the demands on their time for inservice meetings. Thus, it appears that frequent interaction is considered valuable where the involvement is clearly focused on matters of practice, where it draws upon and contributes to persons' knowledge and competence, and where frequency can be seen as a strategic variable, subject to manipulation as circumstances change. Thus:

> *The more evident and consistent the tie to classroom practice, the greater the prospects that frequent interaction will be tolerated or encouraged by teachers and the greater the prospects that frequency will contribute to success.*

Schools where teachers make a habit of shared talk and shared work tend to be more successful schools; it remains somewhat unclear whether they are also, by virtue of that frequent habit, conducive to staff development. The findings are somewhat mixed. At Westlake and in the math department at Reed, frequent interactions among teachers seem to have proven supportive of staff development; teachers' work habits extended to involvement with staff development and provided a work context in which the "lessons" of staff development had a reasonable chance of being worked out in practice. Their experience lends support to the argument that frequent interaction inside the school is conducive to staff development. The situation at Smallwood, however, makes that claim less certain. Here, teachers' interactions tend less to be organized around broad curiosities about instruction and curriculum than around case-by-case problem solving to which the contribution of staff development is perhaps less clear; teachers at Smallwood are unlikely to advocate among their peers the adoption of some idea or practice. *School* improvement is treated largely as a matter of *individual* obligation. Despite their relatively frequent gatherings (usually in twos or threes) to talk shop, teachers here place a high value on autonomy and display considerable faith in the effectiveness of existing practices. Individuals have continued to participate in university classes, but the faculty as a group has resisted any collective involvement with programs of staff development sponsored by the district.

Together, these three situations suggest that frequent interaction alone may not signal a situation receptive to staff development, but that:

> *The greater the frequency of interaction* and *the greater the dissatisfaction with or curiosity about prevailing practice, the more receptivity will be displayed to staff development and the greater the prospects that staff development will exert influence.*

The eight dimensions of interaction we have described here--range (number), focus, inclusivity (actors and locations), reciprocity, relevance, concreteness, and frequency--can be viewed conceptually as a way of mapping the prevailing work interactions in a school; tactically, they suggest dimensions of influence in designing practical programs of assistance. In either event, their interrelated character must be clear, their combined effect evident. As an analytic convenience, we have formulated propositions to reflect the influence of each dimension separately. Properly considered, each proposition should be prefaced, "all other conditions being favorable, or at least known." Thus, interactions that are properly reciprocal may only prompt complaints if they focus on a narrow range of trivial concerns; reciprocity is not compelling, it seems, without relevance and concreteness. Talk that aims at concrete detail and that exhibits the needed professional deference may have limited utility where observation remains taboo; broadening the range of permissible practices appears to broaden the effect as well. And so on.

E. CHARACTERISTICS OF ACTORS

If the practices of talking, watching, planning, and teaching about classroom practice--as ordinary parts of work in schools--are in fact consequential to school success, then a remaining question is: Who is likely to be engaged in those activities? Do some characteristics of *persons* lead some staff more than others to these crucial interactions? Three characteristics appear relevant:

1. Status

Who among teachers, administrators, counselors, specialists and others has the right or the obligation to *participate* in work that is collegial or innovative in the ways that have been described here? Further, who has the right to *initiate* work along those lines? In effect, does one's formal status as teacher or administrator, department chairman or committee member, influence one's capacity to join in or initiate shared discussion, mutual observation, shared planning and preparation, or the design and conduct of inservice education? And does the informal status that accrues from a history of good or bad work lead people to be credited or discredited as advocates of such work?

Not surprisingly, norms of collegiality and experimentation are built and sustained over time by the words and deeds of staff with high enough status--formal and informal--to command the attention and following of others. In all schools that staff characterize as highly collegial, teachers view the principal as an active endorser and participant in collegial work; they trace support to teachers and administrators held in high regard, including some "old guard" teachers, some department or committee chairmen, some assistant principals. At Smallwood, teachers take their lead from established teachers whose reputation in the classroom is undisputed and whose loyalty to fellow teachers is unquestioned. Further, in two schools where staff have been less collegial and less aggressively innovative in recent years (Park High School and Springer Junior High), teachers attribute an increasing interest in staff interaction to the stance adopted by a new principal. Where norms of collegiality and experimentation are less in evidence, they can apparently be stimulated by exercising some of the prerogatives of status:

> When I was department chairman I tried to hold meetings more regularly and just try to talk about some of these things but then my turn was up and I felt we could use more of that. We really don't work that much together.
>
> (Teacher, Springer Junior High)

> I think that the school has to begin to become a self-assessing, self-correcting system of people. . . . But I think you have to begin to change the mores of the school. . . . What we have done this year is to try and create an environment where it is acceptable to take a risk . . . so that down the road a ways it becomes the norm for Park High School to use people to help each other rather than the unusual situation where you only use somebody when you are in a bind. I would like to do that. . . . I think you really need to create that norm.
>
> (Principal, Park High)

Thus:

The greater the endorsement and participation of administrators and teachers of high status, the more firmly established will be norms of collegiality and experimentation and the greater their potential influence over school success.

Certainly, though, participation in collegial and innovative practices is not limited to administrators, to teachers in formal positions of authority, or to those who wield powerful, if unofficial, influence.

If status is a determinant of persons' participation in collegial work, it is so less in some schools than others. At Westlake, *all* staff join in and initiate work that is collegial and experimental. Anyone may advocate for new ideas in faculty meeting and recruit others to explore and test them; teachers as groups design and conduct projects in curriculum design; teachers and principal participate as equals in work sessions. Here, there are few observable limitations placed by formal or informal status.

At Smallwood, the vast majority of the teaching staff (well over 90 percent) subscribe to the view that teachers can initiate discussion, sharing planning and even observation with one another, though some newcomers have found it difficult to gain access to this long-established network. Still feeling their way with a new and aggressive principal, teachers here are also less likely than teachers at Westlake to initiate collaborative activity with their colleagues and more likely to resist the principal's attempts to initiate projects involving them. Here, then, rights to collegial work are relatively widespread but bound in some ways to both formal and informal status.

At Springer, some positions offer greater prospects for organizing and initiating collegial work than others. One teacher reports that as department chairman she was able to arrange occasions for teachers to discuss matters of practice; when the chairmanship rotated, she lost that prerogative. In addition, staff here leave it to the incumbents of certain positions to initiate such ventures, not as an obligation but as a matter of personal preference. Generally, too, they look to the principal to bring the faculty closer to each other and to the administration. Here, then, there are status-specific rights of *initiation* that place limits on collegiality and collective experimentation.

At Carey, where some teachers also express *preferences* for more collegial effort, no one appears to command the right to *stimulate* that work. A grade level chairman who would prefer more discussion of instructional approach and curriculum, and whose views are in fact shared by other teachers in that grade, still refrains from promoting "professional" discussion in meetings. A teacher who has well-elaborated views on individualization, extensive experience with individualized math, and an interest in introducing individualized math to interested teachers has made no move in that direction. Teachers do not initiate shared work with each other; neither do they propose collaborative work to the principal.

These differences among schools give rise to this proposition:

> *The greater the range of positions (status) from which persons can* initiate *collegial or innovative efforts, the greater the prospects that such work will occur with enough regularity to influence school success.*

These broad differences among schools, while illustrative, obscure some important distinctions within schools in the way that collegiality is pursued and by whom. Some of the critical practices described in previous sections require closer attention than others to actual practice; some more than others raise the spectre (or the opportunity, depending upon one's view) of mutual criticism. As practices expose more and more of persons' knowledge, skill, and experience, teachers and administrators alike express hesitation about initiating them, even when they grasp the potential gains. So:

> *The more evident is the tie to actual practice and the greater the potential risk to persons' professional standing and self-esteem, the more restricted will be the rights to initiate shared work and the more closely they will be linked to formal status.*

The relationship between persons' status and their involvement in collegial work is situational and normative; across six schools, the boundaries of the teacher's or administrator's role prove remarkably fluid with respect to our "critical practices of adaptability."

2. Technical Knowledge and Skill

Persons differ in their command of the knowledge and skill required to conduct the kinds of discussions, shared work, and observations that fall among the critical practices. The closer that these practices come to asking teachers to act like analyzers, consultants, advisors, researchers, and theorists, the less likely it is that teachers will have been prepared by their early training to act competently. At issue here are practices qualitatively different from those required for the orderly and productive management of classrooms. Schools in which teachers most aggressively and consistently engage in this kind of work are schools where groups or entire faculties have cultivated the technical skills needed to insure that time invested in shared work will pay off in gains to competence and confidence.

Thus, teachers at Westlake, together, improved their ability to organize useful descriptions and analysis of classroom practice by learning the theory and language of mastery learning; they increased the utility of classroom observation by themselves practicing the same techniques of "clinical supervision" that are used by the principal.

A teacher at Reed reports that he is learning from and with his peers for the first time in his career as a consequence of their shared skill in applying mastery learning to the construction of curriculum units and lesson plans.

Where teachers appear less certain that they or their peers possess the knowledge or skills to hold a useful discussion, offer a useful (and "nonthreatening") critique, contribute to the design of curriculum materials or teach a new approach, they are inclined to avoid those interactions and to view them less favorably. Whatever the image might be of a "close" faculty, and whatever persons' interests in behaving "like professional colleagues," successful participation in critical practices is in some part a function of existing knowledge and skill.

Presumably, as persons gain command over a precise language for describing and analyzing practices without requiring invidious judgments about persons, they will prove more "receptive" to practices of collegial discussion. As they become skilled in recording thoughtful, precise observation in classrooms, they will more willingly seek opportunities to observe and be observed. As they learn a routine for approaching the design and preparation of entire curriculum units, they will prove more willing to plan with and for others. As they gain confidence in a set of substantive ideas and techniques, they will more easily expose them to others in formal presentations, classroom demonstrations, discussion, and written description.[1]

Thus:

> *The greater the shared technical competence in describing, analyzing, observing, planning for, and teaching about practice, the greater the likelihood that teachers will find collegial interaction useful and the greater the prospects that such interactions will influence school success.*

3. Social or Role Competence

Every teacher can tell the tale of the person who "knows his stuff but can't teach it." Along that same line, there are persons who, equipped with all the proper intent, knowledge, and techniques, cannot carry off work that is "collegial" without provoking anxiety, anger, or massive disinterest. Quite apart from matters of technical competence (having something worth saying and a recognizable way to say it) and quite apart from the *permission* to enact a particular role (acting collegially is approved and admired), then, is the matter of skill in being collegial. This is an issue of social, or role, competence.

That is, a teacher may be knowledgeable about and skilled in the techniques of mastery learning without necessarily having any idea about how to instruct other adults in their use. One junior high teacher, for example, conveyed annoyance over a mastery learning instructor who "talked to us as if we were elementary school children." Teachers may have practiced routines of clinical supervision and still be unpracticed in conducting face-to-face conferences with fellow teachers in ways that reflect the proper tact and deference.

The principal of Westlake illustrates two ways that attention to "role competence" may have reduced the threat of classroom observation and enabled him to expand his participation in practices of discussion and observation with teachers:

a. Inservice training on clinical supervision prepared principals for conducting themselves as "advisors" at the same time that it introduced the technical skills of observation and recording:

> We spent two or three days doing nothing but viewing tapes and writing. And then discussing what we saw, and role-playing

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[1] This argument is consistent with that posed by Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein (1971), who remarked that successful implementation of innovations was, quite apart from issues of receptivity, a function of persons' technical capabilities to do what was called for.

> with each other with one being the teacher, the other the principal. So we had a lot of work along that line.
> (Principal, Westlake Elementary)

b. Teachers were offered a smaller-scale introduction to the same principles and methods, thus increasing the odds that they would share with the principal a view of the procedure and the intended roles of colleagues. This shared sense of observation may have helped all parties to buy some time while everyone became socially and technically more proficient over the course of actual practice.

Similarly, teachers at Westlake report regular, frequent occasions over a several-year period in which they have been able to practice behaving as advisors, instructors, consultants, researchers, and observers in each other's presence.

On the whole, teachers in less successful schools were not markedly less *approving* of collegial roles than were their peers in the more successful schools; while enthusiasm was not widespread or highly visible at Carey or Park, several teachers in each school conveyed a preference for discussion more explicitly tied to practice and for expanded opportunities for shared work. Teachers in the more successful schools were, however, more often openly *confident* of teachers' and administrators' abilities to act skillfully as observers, partners, advisors.

Similarly, teachers in three of the four more successful schools expressed greater *tolerance* for persons' efforts to learn the appropriate social skills; they acknowledged that in the early stages of collegial work some awkwardness was likely, some errors of tact probable. In all three of these schools (Westlake, Smallwood, and Reed), tolerance increased when *groups* of teachers or administrators struggled at the same time and in the same ways to master new practice.

In sum, social or role competence is essential to collegial and experimental work; under conditions of reciprocity, that competence is more rapidly acquired.

F. THE ROLE OF THE PRINCIPAL[1]

In myriad, powerful ways the principal shapes the school as a workplace. Teachers and administrators are in agreement that the principal, by virtue of position alone, has certain rights of initiative that make it possible to stimulate, sustain, alter or erode expectations for practice in ways that others cannot. Certainly there are limits to principals' power--and principals claimed that many of their peers find the position sadly eroded--yet it is not a trivial resource.

The principalship is played out in day-to-day practice in ways that serve well or poorly to build norms of collegiality and experimentation. Teachers speak of being inspired to work ever harder by principals who give a ready hearing to ideas proposed by teachers and who seek ways to wrest additional resources from the district or community to back teachers' efforts.

We are less interested here in the general distinctions between effective and ineffective actions than in exposing how *generally effective* tactics can be marshalled *specifically* in support of collegiality and experimentation. To this end, for example, we note that teachers credit principals who state clearly their expectations for teachers' performance; however, we place less emphasis on the general worth of clearly stated expectations than on the degree to which those statements overtly favor work that is collegial, analytical, and experimental. The argument is:

> *The greater the range of tactics by which the principal explicitly supports norms of collegiality and experimentation, the greater the prospects that those norms will prevail.*

1. Announcing Expectations

Principals support norms of collegiality and experimentation by *announcing* expectations for shared talk, shared work, frank review of present practice, and investigation of alternative approaches.

The first issue here is the extent to which expectations for collegial work and for the routine analysis and improvement of practice are expressed with the same degree of force and the same commitment as expectations for completing administrative work, for sustaining an orderly classroom, for establishing rapport with students, for conducting smooth community relations, and the like. Thus, the principal at Smallwood reports that he stresses publicly to teachers that "it's all right to make mistakes" and that being a good teacher requires the willing and persistent trial of new ideas. At Springer, the new principal announced his expectation that teachers as groups would generate and propose ideas for school improvement. At Park, the principal has announced his expectation that teachers in the course of "conferences" will propose suggestions for school improvement, for changes in the principal's approach, and so forth.

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[1] Because the principalship in five of the six schools has changed relatively recently, we have made no attempt here to distinguish schools based on some association between principals' strategies, prevailing patterns of collegiality and experimentation and school success or receptivity to staff development. The role of the principal at Westlake school (where such judgments are more readily supported) is documented in some detail in Appendix A, Case Studies.

> *The more clearly that principals' stated expectations endorse collegial work among teachers, the greater the prospects for stimulating or sustaining collegiality in a building.*

> *The more clearly that principals' stated expectations endorse careful and continuous scrutiny of practice, the greater the prospects for stimulating innovation and experimentation.*

A second issue is the degree to which expectations are announced overtly and publicly. The first faculty meeting of the year proves by several accounts to be a powerful ceremonial occasion, an opportunity at the beginning of the work year to state a set of preferences, to describe what they call for and to justify their importance. Five of the six principals reported that they used the first faculty meeting for exactly these purposes, and the success of their approach is born out by teachers' comments:

> P: I began in the fall when we had our first faculty meeting. I decided in fairness to the faculty that I would tell them exactly where I was coming from in terms of my expectations--the kinds of teacher behavior and attitude that I expected from them and what I expected as far as an instructional program.
>
> (Principal, Reed Junior High)

> T: I'm really quite amazed by the way she came into this building in September and completely changed the climate of this school. I don't know what she did. I can't put my finger on anything.
>
> I: Can you reconstruct?
>
> T: Yeah, she was very serious and traditional at the first faculty meeting. She said, "I expect all of you to do your job, to be professional, to be to school on time, to put in a full day" . . . very straight, no BS, you know, and yet somewhat relaxed. . . . She made an effort to meet everyone and talk with them.
>
> (Teacher, Reed Junior High)

> *The greater the array of "public" occasions on which the principal states expectations for collegiality and experimentation, the more clear will be the official support for those interactions and the greater the prospects for building the appropriate norms.*

A third and key issue is the degree to which expectations for collegiality and experimentation gain in clarity by being expressed as *practices*. Thus, collegiality and experimentation are advanced at Westlake by the stated expectation for group participation in weekly inservice meetings, one day a week before school. Still, on the whole, principals' descriptions of their stated expectations suggest that collegiality and experimentation simply do not have, in most schools, the same practical imagery as other job obligations. Principals outline their expectations that teachers will be in school, that they will sign in and out, or that they will sponsor clubs and activities. There is no equivalent list of specific practices by which teachers demonstrably act as colleagues and by which they demonstrably reveal scrutiny over and improvement of practices.[1] For example, there is no stated expectation that teachers will watch each other teach.

> *The greater the range of specifically elaborated practices by which collegiality and experimentation can be expressed, the greater the support for norms of collegiality and experimentation.*

Finally, expectations take hold more readily if they are announced with some regularity, often enough and over a long enough period of time to be taken seriously. Thus, while principals and teachers alike agree on the symbolic force of the "first faculty meeting," they also stress that more frequent announcements make those words more than rhetoric.

> *The more frequently stated the expectation that teachers will work together as colleagues and that they will analyze and evaluate their own and others' practice, the greater the support for norms of collegiality and experimentation.*

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[1] This raises the tactical issue of what practices can be legally, practically proposed as enactments of collegiality and experimentation. It requires attention to the terms of the contract agreement. It requires some recognition of the position of a new principal who may not have a clear view of prevailing practice. Nonetheless, the principle remains the same: expectations for collegiality and experimentation will prove most powerful where it is clear to people what they could or would do Monday in order to act that way. Given the principle, the tactics require only a close attention to specific circumstances and the possibilities and limits they create.

2. Enacting Expectations

Principals can build norms of collegiality and experimentation when their *own* behavior demonstrates or "models" those norms. Thus, in three buildings principals report that "I act as I expect teachers to act."[1]

The first issue here is the extent to which "modeled" expectations are specifically collegial and experimental. In effect, we are proposing a particular version of that "visibility" for which principals are routinely praised.

At Westlake, the principal joins with teachers in workshop sessions to prepare materials for classroom use; he passes on summaries of current research in faculty meetings and he exposes his own work to the scrutiny of others by conducting inservice sessions and by inviting teachers to evaluate his performance as principal. At Park, the principal drops into the faculty lounge to provoke conversation about the school program or to sound out some idea with a small group of teachers. At Reed Junior High, the principal arranges educational leave time to permit group work among department members, routinely passes on information from the district that will affect teachers' lives, discusses school problems over lunch with teachers. The principal at Springer surprised and pleased his faculty by inviting them to assess his first year's work and propose improvements for the next year.

Second, principals' enactments of collegiality and experimentation are most powerful when they display relevance, concreteness, and reciprocity, and when they occur often enough to be widely visible and credible. If a good evaluation hinges more on participating in shared work to improve the school than it does on keeping all the paperwork up to date, the relevance of shared work is clear and collegiality is advanced; relevance is more apparent to teachers whose newly arranged schedules permit joint work on curriculum than to teachers gathered twice a year to offer general "suggestions" for improvement. Teachers' own close ("concrete") attention to practice is prodded by a principal who displays knowledge of curriculum and classroom practice, and whose questions and comments display curiosity as well as (or in place of) judgment.[1]

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[1] There are numerous ways in which other expectations are "modeled" by principals as they go about a day's work. The principal at Springer, for example, models certain expectations about school-community relations by writing articles for a newsletter and for community papers, letting it be known that he visits the school's "satellite" areas, meeting with groups of parents in their homes to air problems, encouraging parent phone calls and the like. Park's new principal similarly models a stance toward students as he roams the halls, grounds, and classrooms each day.

Principals display reciprocity, in teachers' eyes, when they seek advice as well as give it, when they work at understanding and accommodating others' interpretations of events and situations, and--most particularly--when they solicit evaluation of their own practices. (In a faculty meeting near the end of the school year, the principal of Springer Junior High announced his plan to have teachers evaluate his performance for the year; he would distribute anonymous questionnaires in their boxes, including several closed-ended items on particular practices and including an invitation to write out any other observations, comments, and suggestions for change. Following his announcement, one teacher turned to another and whispered, "Wow, *that's* impressive!")

Finally, the effect of interactions that are reciprocal, concrete, and relevant mounts over time; norms are built incrementally and cumulatively as principals persist in practices that "model" collegiality and close scrutiny of practice. The principal at Westlake reports how classroom observations that at first were uncomfortable became increasingly more satisfying as *promises* to act like a colleague were confirmed over and over again in *practice*. Teachers at Reed report that their new principal "changed the climate of this place in six months" by consistently treating teachers as colleagues. In particular, she made it a point to pass on information from the district about transfers anticipated with the opening of a new junior-senior high school. Teachers at Reed did not want to leave, the situation was producing considerable strain, and the principal earned points with the faculty by being a ready conduit for information that teachers in some other buildings were having to learn through the rumor mill.

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[1] Teachers favor principals who "know what's going on," who "know what we're doing in class." Their comments raise two issues, both related to principals' ability to display a concrete, situationally specific understanding of school practice in interaction with teachers. First, observations and evaluations in most schools--Westlake is an exception--are conducted in ways that limit the principal's ability to be a thoughtful observer and advisor on practice. Teachers report that principals stay only long enough to "get an impression"; they describe "walk-throughs." While such impressions may serve the bureaucratic purpose of a summary evaluation, they typically serve badly or not at all as a source of precise review of observed strengths and weaknesses. Yet the obligation to evaluate is viewed by principals as muddying the waters, making it difficult to stay in a room long enough and often enough to observe and comment usefully. In some instances, principals envision a potential role for outside resource people that would permit useful observation without the stigma of evaluation.

Second, issues of scale and complexity affect a principal's ability credibly to display concrete knowledge in interaction. The principal of a secondary school cannot expect, according to teachers and administrators, to command the same depth of knowledge in all subject areas that an elementary school principal can. Tactically, the requirements are different; teachers in secondary schools credit principals with being properly informed and knowledgeable when they know the right questions to ask about curriculum and practice, when they know what sources to invoke or resources to seek.

So:

The more clearly and consistently that principal's daily interactions with teachers reflect reciprocity and interdependence, the greater the support for a norm of collegiality.

The greater the range of situations in which the principal visibly pursues a careful description, analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of practice, the greater the influence on a norm of experimentation and continuous improvement.

The more closely that principal's interactions with teachers touch concretely upon matters of practice, the greater the potential utility of the interaction and the greater the principal's influence on norms of collegiality and experimentation.

The more closely that principal's interactions touch upon actual classroom practice, the greater the potential risk to teachers' status and self-esteem, the greater the likelihood that teachers will seek to limit or control the interaction, and the greater the salience of reciprocity in fostering collegiality and experimentation.

3. Sanctioning Behavior

Principals build (or erode) norms of collegiality and experimentation by the way that they visibly sanction teachers' activities. By the accounts of teachers and administrators, principals control three powerful resources. Each of these resources is used to greater or lesser degree to encourage, ignore, or discourage the collegial or innovative efforts of teachers.

First, principals control the distribution of certain internal resources and rewards:[1] they can shuffle schedules, change assignments, budget for materials, organize or disband teams, set the agenda for meetings. At Park High School, the principal has credited two teachers' ideas for upgrading the reading program by awarding them the chance to work together as a lab team. In other years, teachers report that innovative ideas were discouraged when a previous principal refused time or space to develop them.

Second, principals effectively limit or expand teachers' access to outside resources by their decisions about special proposals, consultants, release time, and the like. At Westlake, teachers are rewarded for their efforts by a principal whom they credit with being a fair and knowledgeable judge of their requests for outside assistance, and a skillful grantsman.

Third, principals formally and informally evaluate teachers' performance, rendering more or less public judgments that distinguish a good job from one considered mediocre or lacking. Informally, teachers look for an "occasional pat on the back" to keep them interested and committed, and principals report that they leave written notes in teachers' boxes or make comments in passing to praise the handling of a situation, a contribution to some project, or an impressive piece of instruction.

Where norms of collegiality and experimentation are most firmly entrenched, the value of shared work and regular improvement is reflected not only in informal judgments but in formal criteria for evaluation. At Westlake, teachers remember that two teachers who were resistant to such efforts were transferred,[2] and the job posting for a new teacher last year made explicit provision for participation in testing mastery learning, attending inservices, and supporting collective commitments to ideas and programs.

With respect to evaluation, the central issue is the degree to which judgments of competence and commitment ride on persons' demonstrated participation in collegial work and their demonstrated scrutiny of present practice. Ironically, principals' efforts to praise teachers for their *classroom* performance may unintentionally serve to discourage innovation; if attempting some revision of practice will cause teachers to struggle and will create the appearance (and reality) of classroom confusion for some period of time while teachers "work out the bugs," teachers may choose to abandon the attempt rather than risk the good favor of the principal. At Westlake, teachers comment that the principal observes often enough, and with sufficient knowledge about what teachers are attempting, to be able to praise good work on several grounds: observed successes on any given visit, observed progress over time, and sheer willingness to persist in evaluating and modifying practice with the aim of improving student performance.

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[1] Under the terms of the agreement, the principal's control is far from absolute. Still, teachers and administrators recognize that principals have sufficient latitude in these areas to use them effectively in supporting or killing any particular initiative.

[2] Faced with an agreement and tenure arrangement that makes firing difficult, principals use administrative transfers to move weak or troublesome teachers around the district. Teachers report that they understand the problematic aspects of the union agreement, and claim that principals would still enhance their credibility (and influence) if they would use their prerogatives to get rid of bad teachers--even in the face of protracted battles and cumbersome procedures.

Appropriate evaluation of collegial and experimental performance requires then that principals be present in those places and on those occasions where they are in fact likely to *witness* teachers' attempts along these lines. Occasional observations restricted to classrooms--while important in other key respects--are unlikely to reveal much of teachers' participation in norms of collegiality and experimentation.

> *The greater the range of sanctions that principals use to reward collegiality and experimentation and the greater the range of sanctions applied against isolation and indifference, the greater the prospects for principals' influence on norms of collegiality and experimentation.*
>
> *The greater the use of relevant, highly valued sanctions (evaluation and public "good favor"), the more visible and powerful will be expectations for collegiality and experimentation, and the greater the power of the principal to build those norms.*
>
> *The more widely applied (inclusive) the sanctions directed at collegiality, experimentation, and pluralism, the more likely that those norms will prevail.*

4. Protecting Teachers' Efforts

Principals confirm teachers' commitment to shared work and to analyzing and improving practice by *protecting* persons who act in this fashion against outside pressures and internal strains.

First, teachers praise principals who know how "the system" operates and who are skillful in preserving teachers' interests and initiatives while satisfying district requirements.[1] For example, in the second year of the mastery learning project at Westlake, the principal and district coordinator agreed to organize the weekly inservices around affective education in order to prove responsive to district requirements for human relations training; the decision was justified to teachers on the basis that Bloom had also generated an affective taxonomy and that presumably the approach they were taking was applicable to that arena as well. At the same time, teachers attending the inservices were encouraged but not required to prepare mastery learning curriculum units in affective education. In this fashion, the principal helped to protect teachers' extensive investment of time and energy against demands that might have been interpreted as "doing another new program."

Admittedly, the ability of the principal to fend off or successfully translate external demands depends on their nature, timing, and stringency.[2] Had the project felt those pressures in its first year, before teachers had gained confidence and competence with the language and methods of mastery learning, attempted application in the more difficult area of affective education might have jeopardized the whole undertaking. Various tales of trauma reported by teachers suggest just how fragile collegiality and innovation are when personal survival is somehow in jeopardy.

Principals protect against one source of internal strain, i.e., the fear of appearing incompetent, by making clear their expectations that "change does not happen overnight." At Westlake, the principal's leadership of inservice sessions and his manner of scheduling and conducting observations helped confirm for teachers his understanding that practical skill with mastery learning would emerge over time. By virtue of specific practices and organizational arrangements, the principal in effect made it safe and acceptable for persons (including administrators) to work *toward* the improvement of practice.[1]

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[1] Principals have (or believe themselves to have) varying degrees of latitude to juggle external demands and building priorities. Certainly the implementation of desegregation was not left to the decision of principals. And now, as the district prepares to shift from a junior high school to middle school arrangement, the issue of external pressure is again particularly salient. Uncertainty and ambiguity introduced by rapid and large-scale change seems to lead all groups to seek more control. Principals may thus be faced by the greatest demands precisely when the range of opportunities for action is most limited.

[2] The first year of a proposed middle school implementation will hit all junior highs at once, regardless of other prevailing conditions or initiatives. Still, the accounts given by junior high teachers suggest that these uniform pressures to change might be used to *generate* a commitment to collegiality by engaging schools as *units* and teachers and administrators as *groups* to design the implementation.

Finally, principals protect against other, related sources of strain that emerge as groups of teachers become differentially involved in, attracted to, and rewarded for collegial efforts to describe, analyze, interpret, and improve curriculum and classroom practice.

Westlake's schoolwide participation in the mastery learning program, combining group commitment with extensive assistance in implementation, eliminated much of the need to balance competing group interests. By all accounts, developments at Westlake were atypical even for an elementary school. Teachers and administrators in secondary schools judge them not only unlikely but probably unrealistic and undesirable. Generally, principals' tactics have been successful where they have acknowledged group interests (e.g., departments) and have found a way to support one group without forcing other groups into a position where they feel compelled to attack. The principal at Reed managed to avoid some polarization by (1) refraining from any overt attempt to recruit teachers to the mastery learning approach, and (2) continuing to make administrative support (e.g., leave time) available to teachers who, in whatever way, demonstrated professional interest and commitment.

In sum, collegiality and experimentation are supported (or not) by the specific nature of administrators' announced expectations, their routine allocation of administrative resources and rewards, their daily interactions with teachers in meetings, classrooms, and hallways. By virtue of principals' actions, teachers in some schools are placed at a demonstrable advantage by pursuing collegial work and by showing careful attention to the improvement of practice. They correspondingly risk disapproval by pursuing an independent (and self-satisfied) course. In such schools, the resources of the principalship are turned in viable ways to cultivating norms of collegiality and experimentation. As principals announce, model, sanction, and protect particular practices, they reveal a greater or lesser command over an entire *repertoire* of tactics for organizational change generally and for the strengthening of work relations particularly. Thus:

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[1] The visibility and consistency of such arrangements is at issue here. One might argue that an annual conference in which teachers are encouraged to formulate objectives for improvement in particular areas is not enough to build a shared understanding about probable stages of progress or difficulties along the way; certainly, it is not enough to assuage fears about impressions that are generated as others walk by the classroom, overhear students' talk, or conduct a formal observation.

The broader the repertoire of tactics for announcing, enacting, sanctioning, and protecting interactions that are collegial and experimental, the greater the principal's influence over norms that bear on school success.

G. SUMMARY

The school is powerful as a workplace. To the degree that it permits or encourages teachers and others to engage in shared analysis of actual practice, mutual observation, shared planning and preparation, and collective efforts to "learn on the job," it fosters high faculty morale, student success, adaptability to change and receptivity to staff development.

To the degree that, in practice, interactions exhibit reciprocity, concreteness, and relevance, they foster a shared professional commitment to the continuous improvement of program and practice.

And to the degree that such interactions engross the broadest possible number and range of staff in the broadest range of social situations on the most frequent and regular basis, they constitute prevailing norms in a building. At issue for staff development, or for principals seeking change, are the resources of status, skill, and interaction likely to stimulate or limit, strengthen or erode these norms.

IV. THE NATURE AND ROLE OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT

A. INTRODUCTION

Persons who design and conduct programs of staff development are keenly aware that some teachers or schools are more receptive or resistant to their efforts than others. Teachers who participate in programs of staff development similarly characterize them as more or less "practical"; some are celebrated as "great" while others are dismissed as a "waste of time." All of these terms are interpretations,[1] summary judgments about the way a relationship, an event, or an interaction has unfolded.

The imagery conveyed by terms like "receptive" or "resistant" is powerful, but inadequate to reveal exactly what characteristics of daily interaction distinguish staff development that is credited with influence from staff development with marginal impact.

The demonstrable power of schools to build and sustain expectations for teachers' work with others and teachers' view of classroom practice confirms our view of staff development as a matter of organizational change. By celebrating the place of *norms* of collegiality and experimentation in accounting for receptivity to staff development, we place the matter of receptivity to staff development squarely in an analysis of organizational setting: the school as workplace.[2]

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[1] Sometimes the interpretations are in conflict. High school teachers complain that a workshop is "geared toward elementary school teachers"; workshop leaders protest that they have in fact made their instruction and examples appropriate to secondary schools, and that the teachers simply don't know how to translate. It appears unlikely that an objective review of workshop materials, seeking evidence to support either claim, will fully resolve the difficulty. Judging by teachers' accounts, it may prove more fruitful to ask what it is about the interaction between teachers and staff developers that leads one or the other group to *regard* the interaction as satisfactory or unsatisfactory.

[2] In the school most extensively engaged in staff development there are some teachers who are more reluctant and less committed than others; in the school least supportive of staff development, there are teachers who are enthusiastic and frequent participants in staff development programs. In neither instance, however, does the stance of these individuals appear to affect the more general pattern of school views and experiences. A critical strategic question may be under what circumstances can a small number of individuals begin to exert influence in altering the perspective and participation of an entire school.

A range of staff development programs is in place in the district, employing an array of tactics for attracting teachers' participation, insuring teachers' satisfaction, and building expanded competence in schools. Of each of these programs we can thus ask:

> To what degree does this program by its *design* take into account the organizational setting of the school? What are the prospects that it will improve school success by fostering or sustaining expectations for collegiality and experimentation?

Staff development is aimed at improving student success by increasing the knowledge and the technical proficiency of teachers. On the whole, teachers share precisely those aims; they work for greater understanding and more effective, rewarding practice in classrooms.[1] Though they agree on aims, however, they differ substantially in crediting or discrediting the influence of staff development. The specific evidence they offer in their accounts of learning on the job suggests some of the ways in which staff development can be *designed* (rather than merely intended) to increase the prospects that teachers will accord it influence.

> What are the prospects that each program approach can improve technical competence and thus exert influence on school success?

B. A RANGE OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

This district directly conducts or indirectly supports a range of staff development programs. Each can be viewed broadly as a strategy with greater or fewer prospects for improving technical competence and confidence, and for contributing to a work situation of the sort that Goodlad (1975) has described as "self-renewing."

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[1] The press of external circumstances may operate to erode the commitment felt by some teachers. In this district, for example, the press toward affirmative action that accompanied desegregation radically altered the career prospects of entire classes of teachers. Some white males describe themselves as disinterested and disillusioned; their alienation is exacerbated by the belief that the route to the top is shorter and easier now for minorities and women than it once was for white men. While the relative influence of external pressures and internal expectations cannot be weighed here, there is some evidence that the setting of the school--the immediate circumstances encountered in day-to-day work--count more heavily than a general perspective on district conditions. In one junior high, the new (woman) principal is credited by teachers with "changing the climate of this place in six months" and with building an atmosphere in which virtually everybody is working harder.

1. Coursework

The district awards credit for participation in courses offered at any one of several local colleges and universities. By teachers' description, courses cover a large spectrum of topics and vary considerably in their directed attention to the circumstances and interests of urban teachers. In addition, the district itself sponsors a series of minicourses, ranging from single sessions to multi-week courses. Topics for the minicourses are generated by a needs assessment survey, by conversations with building principals, and by occasional conversation with individual teachers. The Department of Staff Development recruits teachers and administrators throughout the district to teach the courses, thus expanding its own staff resources and crediting the knowledge, experience, and skill of district personnel.

As a strategy, coursework rests on two assumptions.[1] The first is that ideas and information are in and of themselves powerful in the improvement of classroom teaching. Armed with a good idea (more knowledge), teachers can anticipate improved effect. The second assumption is that the translation of ideas into practice in the classroom rests on individual initiative, preference, knowledge, and skill.

2. Topical Presentations and Demonstrations

In the past year, the Department of Staff Development has assumed responsibility for meetings of the elementary and secondary instruction committees. These committees are made up of representatives (teachers and administrators) from each school who meet periodically to consider matters of common interest. Finding that these meetings had "degenerated into a gripe session," staff development worked to convert them to serve staff development purposes. Drawing on topics generated by a needs assessment, staff development personnel worked with others in the district to plan a single program on each of four topics. While the approach is aimed at "an awareness of new instructional strategies," it is also designed to encourage participants in turn to present new ideas to their own faculty.

> We provided the principal and the teachers with staff training materials, all of the materials that were used in training--a

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[1] The assumptions are implicit in the *design* of the strategy. It is worth distinguishing assumptions of *intent* from assumptions of *design*. Any staff development strategy intends an advance in knowledge and practice that will be presumably manifested in student performance. By their *design*, however, staff development strategies reveal an array of assumptions about the conditions under which such advances will be realized and such effects witnessed.

> teaching script, the handouts . . . and everything that they could take back . . . [to] their school and hopefully transmit whatever it is to their own faculties in reporting back.
> (Coordinator, Department of Staff Development)

In addition to these periodic, regularly scheduled sessions, district personnel prepare and deliver one-time presentations in faculty meetings and in after-school or half-day inservice meetings.

3. Pullout Programs

These are programs for which teachers are awarded release time in order to leave school for some period of training. Some pullout arrangements are relatively short-term and narrowly bounded; they permit the district to respond to immediate issues and problems, e.g., the effects of mainstreaming or an influx of non-English speaking children. Other programs have been designed more broadly as general programs of improvement. Several have been organized around ideas drawn from Madeline Hunter, Benjamin Bloom, and others and have been explicitly intended to build an overall perspective on classroom instruction and management.

Teachers participating in these programs have received several days' intensive training outside of school, followed by classroom observation and conferences with district consultants. Principals have been encouraged to participate in teachers' training, to attend separate administrator training on techniques of classroom observation, and to become substantively knowledgeable about the proposed approaches. In an effort to create a situation in which teachers are encouraged to implement ideas to which they have been introduced outside the school, the district has made participation in some pullout programs contingent on group commitment--typically three-quarters of an elementary school faculty and one-third of a secondary school faculty.

4. Partnership Arrangement with Individual Schools

Building on a view of organizational change in schools, designers of staff development have increasingly sought arrangements with schools that would bring staff developers into regular and collaborative contact with individual buildings. These efforts have taken three forms:

a. Invitational programs. In one set of programs, partnerships have been forged around a particular set of ideas, or a theory and its translation into practice. An invitation to participate is in effect a negotiated agreement. A substantial number of teachers and the principal make a commitment to test the ideas and to make a long-term investment in staff development; the district in turn commits the long-term weekly participation of a knowledgeable consultant who delivers inservices, trains the principal, conducts classroom observation and demonstrations, supplies materials and assists teachers in their own efforts to design curriculum.

b. Assigned resource people. In a second program, each member of the district's staff development team has been assigned a group of buildings in which to act as a loosely defined[1] "resource person." The assignments were made in an effort to bring staff developers into wider and more regular contact with buildings, on the assumption that the greatest prospects for influence would arise out of actual work in schools.

c. The staff development liaison. In recent months, the Department of Staff Development has extended its efforts to establish contact in individual buildings by requesting that each building name a liaison to serve as the counterpart of the Department's assigned resource person. Though the role remained loosely defined at the time of our interviews, its initiators expressed some hope that the liaison position would enable staff developers to become more thoroughly and quickly informed of a faculty's interests, curiosities, or worries; in turn, staff developers hoped that the faculty liaison would cultivate interest among his or her peers, would disseminate information, would recruit participation in programs and the like. The specific interactions that might ensue between the liaison and the district, or the liaison and administrators or fellow teachers were still unexplored as this work was being completed.

This range of program approaches reflects two sets of interests and obligations. One set can be summed up in the term "certification." In this view and by this set of arrangements, individual teachers improve their teaching skills while they sustain or increase their advantage in a competitive job market. In a district with declining enrollment and a diminishing tax base, where longevity and credentials weigh heavily in the contract agreement, accumulated "points" mean personal survival. Any persuasive, credible program of staff development must take into account the pressure toward accumulated credit hours. Thus, district personnel have designed programs readily available to larger numbers of staff, have negotiated with the state department of education to gain recertification credit for their minicourses and have arranged with local universities to award graduate credit for long-term participation in certain pilot programs (e.g., mastery learning).

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[1] An immediate chore for the newly assigned resource people has been to stake out a territory that is seen by the schools as relevant and useful without unwittingly tripping over the obligations of other district specialists. Assistance in curriculum areas, for example, is offered by district-level curriculum departments and by instructional resource teams that travel from school to school. Meanwhile, teachers display some confusion over precisely what is meant by "staff development," and how district-sponsored staff development is similar to or different from other activities of the district.

In a second view of staff development, and by a second set of arrangements, individual teachers expand their knowledge and skill while they contribute in demonstrable ways to overall school improvement. In a system where the problems are complex and the demands for equity and achievement pressing, any staff development program must take into account the relative power of the program to produce gains for entire schools and for the district as a whole. As described by members of the Department of Staff Development, the past several years have witnessed an "evolving process" that has brought staff development to focus more and more on the organizational (workplace) setting and on questions of organizational change:

> . . . essentially what we were doing as we designed these projects was manipulating the various variables of staff development: delivery time, delivery method . . . numbers of teachers within a building. And what we were really looking at is what does it take to bring about a change in a school. . . .
>
> (Coordinator, Department of Staff Development)

In some respects, these views and arrangements are in competition. The certification view is fundamentally geared to individual advantage and interpersonal competition; in the battle for jobs, one hurts one's own chances by helping others. The school improvement view is fundamentally geared to organizational advantage and interpersonal cooperation; one strengthens one's own abilities and improves school success by working with others.

It is in many respects easier to participate in the certification system than in the school improvement system. The rewards are clear, the demands on time and energy typically less, and the nature and pace of practical application (if any) a matter for individual preference. In school improvement, the rewards may be less clear at the outset (though teachers report them to be substantial and impressive), the demands on time and energy extensive, the departure from existing workplace routines potentially great, and the latitude for individual autonomy limited. There appears to be a clear incentive to pursue an individual, competitive course. In the face of such incentives, programs built around long-term collaborative work have attracted participation by arranging to accomplish some of the requirements of individual certification.

A corollary of this argument is that various staff development programs may weigh differently in effecting each of the two purposes. Some approaches display more power than others to attract and satisfy individual teachers. Some approaches exert greater influence than others over those patterns of collegiality and experimentation in buildings that we have reason to believe bear on success. In the discussion that follows, we concentrate on exposing the features of staff development programs that have been credited by teachers with contributing to schoolwide success while preserving the interest and satisfying the requirements of individual participants.

C. CHARACTERISTICS OF INFLUENTIAL STAFF DEVELOPMENT

The power of staff development programs to influence school success and to attract individual interest appears to ride on their ability to capture those facets of interaction that make a difference to norms of collegiality and experimentation. Particularly at issue here is the ability of staff development to establish clear expectations and aims, to engage in relations that are reciprocal and mutually deferential, to attract wide support (or at least tolerance) and to operate from a credible base of status and skill. In the eyes of staff development personnel, principals, and teachers, some tactics permit greater leverage in these areas than others. On the whole, persons attribute school influence to programs that are collaborative in nature, that call for collective participation, that are focused around specific ideas and methods, that engage persons often enough and over a long enough period of time to witness effects, and that engage teachers with others whose credibility derives from a combination of formal position, known experience, and technical competence. Put another way, effective staff development is that which promotes and participates in the critical practices of school adaptability.

1. Collaboration

Collaborative arrangements between staff development and schools offer the opportunity to demonstrate reciprocity and deference, to develop clearly known and shared aims, and to establish trust by building a history of predictable performance. And to the extent that collaborations have addressed precisely these issues of reciprocity, clarity, and predictability, they have proved influential. Teachers at Westlake Elementary School credit their three-year collaboration with staff development with influencing their teaching and their working relationships with each other and the principal; they describe an arrangement that stressed reciprocal relationships among all participants, that enjoyed a focus on a bounded set of ideas, and that made expectations for persons' performance clear and predictable.

To the extent that they have compromised these features, collaborations have proved less satisfactory. At Park High School, a potentially promising two-year collaboration between the school and a Teacher Corps project is credited with little influence; outsiders were unable to establish reciprocal, mutually deferent relations with faculty members who were not convinced the consultants had anything to contribute.[1] Similarly, at Carey Elementary School, efforts to introduce a district "resource person" on a collaborative basis went demonstrably awry; and in four other schools, neither principals nor teachers knew quite what to make of resource people assigned to their buildings--an absence of clarity and focus. The experience of the various buildings suggests that collaboration is almost always a persuasive image (an image that tends to kindle interest), but that it must be designed and conducted in ways that effectively tap powerful determinants of school success. Thus in celebrating programs that are "collaborative" we must reveal how collaboration is confirmed in word and deed.

a. Collaboration and relevance. Collaboration, as characterized by teachers, has been able to address issues of relevance by specific arrangements for taking into account the interests and obligations of teachers and principals.

First, it allows for satisfaction of individual requirements and aims. In three of the programs described by teachers (mastery learning, Teacher Corps, and Instructional Improvement), collaboration satisfied certification and advancement requirements by awarding (or permitting) graduate credit for participation.

Second, some collaborative arrangements have been organized to meet district requirements or to act on district priorities. In the second year of the mastery learning program, inservices were organized around the application of mastery learning to affective education as a way of satisfying the district's court-imposed requirement for human relations training; teachers were encouraged and assisted to design mastery units in that area.

And finally, collaborative programs have been structured to take into account the realities of work at the building level. They have succeeded, for example, where they have taken into account principals' obligation to evaluate teachers and teachers' interests in securing favorable evaluations. At the least, such arrangements have sought explicit agreements with building principals for teachers' participation; presumably such "permission" creates certain latitude for innovation on the part of teachers. In more aggressive fashion, some programs have sought the attendance of principals in the inservice sessions conducted for teachers, on the grounds that principals who are substantively knowledgeable about the proposed ideas and approaches will be more likely to take that knowledge into account when judging teachers' performance. Seeking further assurance that principals will evaluate teachers in terms consistent with the staff development program, some programs have encouraged or even required that principals attend separate training sessions for administrators; such sessions have concentrated on substantive principles of good classroom instruction and on techniques for handling classroom observation and teacher conferences in ways that reward teachers' efforts at improvement. By this arrangement, then, the specific criteria applied by principals in the course of teacher evaluation are intended to be consistent with those advocated to teachers as part of staff development; the connection between teachers' and principals' views of good teaching is explicit, known, shared, and evident in actual teachers conferences.

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[1] There are individual teachers at Park who have selectively incorporated various features of the Teacher Corps training. One teacher credits the program with introducing the concept of a "win-win" situation as an alternative to the more typical win-lose situation that students encounter. Another reports having been influenced to use a specific inventory of classroom management techniques. Yet teachers report that in *group* training sessions, teachers were likely to discredit ideas for being "educational clichés" at a level too broad to be useful (e.g., give kids positive strokes) or that they were bad advice in practice. On the evidence, the two-year program exerted little schoolwide influence and may in fact have operated to reduce schoolwide commitment to just such collaborative ventures.

By teachers' accounts, a principal's permission, interest or even enthusiasm carries little weight in the long run if it is not reflected where it counts--in the evaluation of a "good job." Teachers who were assured that their struggles to apply new and unfamiliar ideas would be understood and credited by the principal persisted over the many months that it took to witness progress.

Thus, collaborative arrangements exert influence in part because they create the opportunity to negotiate agreements that enable teachers to satisfy individual interests, to meet district priorities, and to accommodate the expectations for "being a teacher" that prevail in a specific school. To the extent that staff development programs are able to address issues of "relevance" in this fashion, they can anticipate attracting participation. These observations suggest a proposition:

> *The more collaborative the program, the greater its prospects for demonstrating relevance to individual, school, and district interests, and the greater the prospects that it will exert influence.*

b. Collaboration and clarity. Collaborative programs permit work to proceed on the basis of shared agreement about aims, about the nature and extent of persons' investment, about the plausibility of ideas, and about a sequence of implementation. To the degree that any program can achieve clarity along these lines, it improves the odds that it will influence teachers' practices and that it will attract subsequent participation in staff development.

A sequence of negotiation employed by the district in seeking pilot schools for the mastery learning project illustrates how a design grounded in collaboration serves to promote clarity of aims and approach. District personnel constructed a four-step negotiation designed to insure clear agreement that the ideas were promising and plausible (worth implementing), that teachers would implement the ideas collectively over a long enough period to witness effects, and that a working partnership would be forged among teachers, principal, and district personnel. The terms of participation in the mastery learning project reflected certain "working hypotheses" on the part of staff development about the conditions (time, collective support) required to understand, test, and institutionalize ideas that were both unfamiliar and complex.

In a first step, the program's designer and coordinator presented the project in broad outline to a meeting of all elementary school principals, with an invitation to declare interest.[1] Principals who were interested on the basis of that first presentation were invited to a second meeting, where the terms of participation were elaborated further. One condition was an agreement by principals to participate in training and eventually to displace the district consultant as instructor and resource person in the building. That provision was designed to improve the prospects that any changes in teachers' practice would endure; it nevertheless had the effect of narrowing the field drastically.[2]

> Well, as I remember, when we met with the coordinator four years ago and she talked about this, she mentioned the fact that when the principal gets involved, it isn't just a matter of sitting through the inservice with the faculty and participating that way. Your involvement had to be a lot deeper and . . . there was a lot of training and background that went into it, even before you began working with the faculty. . . . There were a number of principals that showed

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[1] This does not require that all new ideas be initiated outside the building and proposed to schools as the basis of joint work (though that was the case for the mastery learning schools). At Springer Junior High, teachers envisioned a situation in which outside partners would be invited to join in a sequence of work outlined collectively by a department.

[2] A negotiation sequence aimed at clarity of understanding does not insure "receptivity" to a program of staff development. The experience of the mastery learning project is evidence that making an idea clear may serve to *discourage* persons from participating in a collaborative venture. The negotiation does have the virtue of revealing the limits and possibilities of shared work in advance of an agreement to proceed, thus making subsequent steps less tenuous.

> an interest until she made that statement and then it kind of cleared the field, really and truly. She was looking for five schools and she almost didn't get five schools[1] because there were not five people who were willing. Because she was very, very clear about the amount of time it was going to take. As I look back on that first year, it did.
>
> (Principal, Westlake Elementary)

A third step required the principal to confirm agreement with at least seventy-five percent of the faculty before committing the school to participation. Teachers and principal at Westlake trace their decision to participate to a combination of the principal's stand on the program and the faculty's own disposition to explore promising new ideas:

> I told the faculty that I'm willing to be involved if you are. I'm willing to spend the time, I'm willing to commit myself.
>
> (Principal, Westlake Elementary)

> Four years ago, when we were deciding about this, the whole staff sat down and talked about it. It was put to a vote. . . . We voted as a faculty and it's been great. Not everyone goes along wholeheartedly but everyone would have to admit they've learned something.
>
> (Teacher, Westlake Elementary)

In a fourth step, entire faculties of the proposed pilot schools met to hear a description by district personnel of what would be expected over the three-year tenure of the program:

> We had an opportunity . . . the five schools that were selected had an opportunity to meet one entire afternoon with the coordinator. And she discussed with them in detail the proposal, the amount of time and commitment that it would take. And they had a chance again at that time, at that point, if they wanted to, to withdraw. And there was one school that did withdraw . . . because they didn't have the support of the faculty.
>
> (Principal, Westlake Elementary)

As might be expected, no negotiation procedure, no matter how stringent, is sufficient to anticipate the actual time required, the actual dilemmas faced, the nature and pace of observable progress. Still, the original negotiation forestalled the kind of resistance or indifference that might have emerged had the district left the terms of participation unclear in the hopes of attracting schools more readily.

The persuasiveness of this negotiation rests on shared agreements (clarity) of three sorts: the promise of the program ideas, the nature of the roles and relationships required of teachers and principals, and the adequacy of the description to reflect an actual sequence of implementation. For the mastery learning project, the ideas were powerful enough on their face to attract nearly half the elementary school principals. The role envisioned for principals, however, was apparently enough of a departure from the role that was being then *enacted* by most principals to discourage their participation. Good intentions and "receptivity" apart, teachers and principals may resist program opportunities that represent radical departures from their view of what being a teacher or being a principal permits or requires.

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[1] Approximately 5 percent of all elementary schools in the district.

Over a five-year period *prior* to the mastery learning project, the principal of Westlake School had been making gradual and incremental changes in his own behavior, increasingly engaging in actions that assisted change rather than merely permitting or approving it. He had come to view school improvement less as a matter of the "sponsorship" or "support" of supplemental, separate programs and more centrally as a matter of training for all permanent staff. He had begun to participate in inservice programs in ways that made him substantively knowledgeable about innovative program ideas, instead of only administratively knowledgeable. And he had changed the frequency and nature of his interactions with teachers by beginning to observe regularly in classrooms in the capacity of advisor rather than evaluator. Immediately prior to the mastery learning project, he encountered the RAND change agent study, the findings of which legitimate a view of the principalship as a catalyst for change and confirm the importance of collective, collegial involvement of teachers in innovation. Under these circumstances, the stringent requirements of the mastery learning pilot project represented for him less a departure than an extension of present views or practice.

Clarity of expectations served to attract participation of five schools under the most favorable circumstances. To the extent that other program tactics approximate the standard of clarity reached by such collaborative negotiation, greater receptivity can be expected and greater influence anticipated. Staff development programs are relatively more or less powerful to the extent that they foster shared agreement on aims, substantive ideas, the nature and sequence of practical application, and the boundaries of teachers' and principals' roles.

> *The more collaborative the approach, the more frequent and structured will be the occasions for gaining clarity about aims, perspectives, methods, and roles, and the greater the prospects for measurable influence.*

c. Collaboration and reciprocity. At stake in staff development are basic rights to the description, analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of classroom practice. Teachers' favorable and unfavorable judgments about staff development revolve precisely around the issue of teachers' rights to propose or share in such analyses and around their obligation to accept the analyses (and advice) of others. The salient point here is not whether a description is recognizable (i.e., demonstrates familiarity with the real world of classrooms), an analysis accurate or plausible, or particular advice pleasing. Those are separate, if important, matters. The point here is whether the interaction called "staff development" is conducted in ways that are properly *reciprocal*, calling for shared aims and collaborative effort among fellow professionals.

In teachers' accounts, praise attaches to those occasions where teachers' and others' views are mutually valued, sought, credited, and tested. In parallel fashion, teachers criticize situations in which such reciprocal influence is absent altogether or in which the views of one party (usually but not exclusively those of teachers) are ignored or discredited. The issue for teachers and for programs of staff development is how such reciprocal rights are understood, how they are made explicit as the grounds for shared work, and how they are confirmed or subverted in the course of routine interaction.

On the evidence, collaborative arrangements between staff development and individual schools offer the greatest prospects for reciprocity. At Westlake, collaboration on the mastery learning project offered opportunities for reciprocity in several ways:

> Expectations were explicitly stated at the outset of the project that all parties would act as knowledgeable contributors. The district consultant was expected to contribute knowledge gained from immersion in theory and research; teachers were expected to contribute knowledge gained from close observation of present practice and from efforts to apply new ideas to actual classroom situations; the principal was expected to contribute knowledge gained from observation of classroom practice and from additional readings of theory and research.
>
> Time was allotted in the weekly schedule for persons to act in accordance with the stated expectations. The district consultant visited the school at least once a week and met with the principal outside school once a week. Periods of "instruction" were structured to introduce new elements of theory, to permit questions, comments, observations, and problems raised by teachers, and to organize a period of group work to connect theory to practice.
>
> Decisions about the focus and scale of curriculum units emerged out of teachers' analysis of core topics and critical skills at each grade level.
>
> Criteria for classroom observation emerged out of the shared discussion of theory and practice, were agreed upon in advance, and were specified at a level of detail that made all parties comfortable about what might be important to notice. Observers used anecdotal records to capture as faithfully as possible all that was said by teachers and

students; these notes served as evidence around which teachers and principal or consultant would organize conference discussions.

Properly designed and conducted, collaborative arrangements appear to foster reciprocity and improve the odds that staff development will contribute both to technical competence and to norms of collegiality.[1]

Increasingly, as teachers at Westlake engaged in reciprocal relations with the principal and district consultant, they adopted a "habit" of applying theory to practice, i.e., they became increasingly competent at judging and improving their own classroom practice and at designing approaches in collaboration with other teachers. Reciprocity appears therefore to have contributed to a norm of evaluation and experimentation. Similarly, they began to turn more and more regularly to each other and to the principal for guidance, thus over time reducing the demand on outside staff development assistance, and confirming a norm of collegiality. Teachers report that having been involved in this particular kind of staff development has left them more able and willing to raise problems and evaluate ideas without getting tangled in personal disputes or jeopardizing friendships (deference). Reciprocity thus appears to have been a contributor to collegiality.

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[1] In practice, any of the routine arrangements by which reciprocity is confirmed may unintentionally go wrong. At Carey, teachers interpreted the visits of the "resource person" as occasions for giving advice in nonreciprocal fashion to teachers who were viewed by the principal as somehow deficient. At Reed, teachers praised the instructors of mastery learning for reciprocity over the course of the actual training (including the opportunity for teachers to propose revisions in the training format), but they were correspondingly disappointed when the reciprocity failed to carry over to the conduct of classroom observations. The observing teachers offered descriptions and compliments but no analysis or critique. Teachers who were in fact prepared to support a norm of mutual criticism and to engage in a lengthy and detailed analysis of practice were disappointed at the brief "rehash" they encountered.

> T: I didn't agree with the conferences we had. I didn't think they were beneficial. He came in and visited my class five or six times. Every time during the interview he said, "You started the class by saying, 'All right, class.' You said this and this and this," and he repeated every word I said, and that was the end of the interview.
>
> I: Well, what was the purpose of the interview?
>
> T: They were going to tell us what we did right and wrong. But that was not telling me what I did right and wrong. And he took an hour of my time which is very valuable, and I don't mind that but I don't think I got anything constructive out of it.
>
> (Teacher, Reed Junior High)

So:

> *The more collaborative the approach, the greater the opportunities for mutual contribution to aims, perspectives, methods (i.e., for reciprocity) and the greater the prospects that staff development will build a commitment to collegiality and experimentation.*
>
> *The more closely that collaboration engages persons in the examination of classroom practice, the greater will be the demands for reciprocity and the greater the prospects that staff development will "fail" in its absence.*

Staff development appears to have been most readily praised and most readily accepted where staff developers conducted their own interactions with teachers and administrators in a reciprocal manner. Schools participating in long-term "partnerships" have reported more favorable reactions than schools subjected to a series of lectures. Thus:

> *The greater the reciprocity evident in the interactions between staff development and school personnel, the greater the prospects for influence.*

2. Collective Participation

It is a basic premise of social organization that views become increasingly powerful as more and more people subscribe to them, and that experiences exert greater influence as they are encountered more and more widely. The organizational salience of groups and group expectations seems clear. Influential programs of staff development, for example, are typically those that have captured the interest and secured the participation of a large number of staff, have involved both teachers and administrators, and have tapped the major school situations that affect the lives of children (e.g., all grade levels or key departments).[1] Teachers at Westlake place considerable weight on their collective commitment to the mastery learning program in accounting for its success:

> I think that it would be a disadvantage not to have the whole school behind the project. . . . I don't see how a few people . . . in one school can have much impact on the whole school.
>
> (Teacher, Westlake Elementary)

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[1] The argument can be made, of course, that the adoption of new practice is exactly and principally a matter of individual preference and skill. Certainly that is an argument advanced by many teachers, illustrated by reference to their own experience. Teachers in all six schools described their private experiments with ideas "picked up" in classes, from reading, from other teachers, or by dint of their own imagination. Still, teachers' own accounts and our observations suggest some limits to the argument. (In particular, teachers in successful schools where staff development has proved influential are inclined to posit some balance between individual initiative and collective permission and assistance). First, teachers have few opportunities to watch each other at work, and tend to form impressions of each other's competence by casual glances through classroom doorways. If trying a new approach requires a disruption in established routines, if it will thereby create the appearance of floundering and place teachers at risk of being negatively judged by colleagues, teachers may be less likely to make the attempt. The more complex and unfamiliar a practice, and the greater a departure it requires from past practice, the more likely it is that teachers will indeed struggle with it. Elementary and junior high school teachers attempting mastery learning say that it takes about six months for the new routines to become smooth; elementary school teachers adopting new reading packages claim that after five or six months they are still working out methods of testing, grouping, and pacing instruction. The absence of collective support may prove a barrier to improvement and innovation.

Second, new practices may require time-consuming study and preparation even before they can be tested in the classroom. A teacher left to rely on individual preference and skill may reasonably choose to avoid new practice rather than take the chance that a substantial investment of time and thought won't pan out. If the experiences of Westlake and Reed schools serve as evidence, practices that have brought observable change in student achievement and classroom order require precisely that kind of extensive thought and preparation; without denying the attractiveness and occasional utility of "tricks," "little hints" and ready-made materials, these teachers trace the most impressive accomplishments to more complex undertakings that placed heavy demands on their knowledge and experience. Collective participation on some scale (even four members of a single department) eased the burden.

At the same time, teachers' accounts are full of examples of large-scale ventures that failed to spark collective interest or enthusiasm; ideas gained through group involvement in staff development often have a remarkably short half-life. What is less clear, then, is how tactics of staff development can operate to generate group commitment and to promote or participate in group expectations consistent with school improvement.

a. District tactics. In recent years, designers of staff development programs in the district have employed several strategies premised on the assumption that teachers are more likely to examine and improve their present practices where they have some measure of collective endorsement and assistance.

"Taking ideas back." In the course of three separate programs, district personnel have introduced new ideas to individuals or small teams from each school who have, in turn, been encouraged to introduce those ideas more broadly among fellow teachers and administrators. To encourage members of the district's two instruction committees (elementary and secondary) to disseminate ideas more widely in their home buildings, staff development teams follow their own presentation with a distribution of all the necessary materials for building representatives to organize comparable presentations in faculty meetings. In several of the district's pullout programs, an explicit aim has been for the participating teachers to display the sort of visible enthusiasm that might prove persuasive in attracting others to the ideas and methods. And finally, in the mastery learning program, the district trained building principals in the content of the approach during weekly inservice sessions and supplied them with outlines, handouts, and transparencies; the principals returned to their buildings to conduct comparable inservice sessions for their faculties.

This strategy of having teachers "take ideas back" has been aimed at influencing practice by engaging teachers or administrators in some measure of shared talk about classroom practice and learning from and with each other. Where successful, it permits staff development to exert an indirect influence on schoolwide practice and to allocate limited resources broadly across schools.

"Train many." In a second tactic, staff development has sought direct involvement in schools. While the Department of Staff Development serves some functions of a "division of continuing education" (e.g., in organizing minicourses), staff believe their greatest opportunity for impact lies with school-based work. Thus, they have accepted assignments to individual buildings with the aim of cultivating interaction with an ever-expanding group of teachers and administrators in schools. And they have asked participation from at least one-third of a secondary school faculty and three-fourths of an elementary school faculty as a condition for

involvement in some pullout or partnership programs. Park High School and Springer Junior High each sent one-third of their faculty for two weeks' training in instructional improvement approaches organized around the ideas of Madeline Hunter, Benjamin Bloom, and others. All but one faculty member at Carey Elementary School participated in the same program.[1] And Westlake's involvement in the mastery learning pilot project extended to the principal and all teachers.

In related fashion, designers of staff development have sought participation by teachers across grade levels or departments as a way of expanding influence in all those arenas in which teachers touch upon each other's work.

> We tried . . . to train teams of teachers. Like eight from a secondary--a couple in English, a couple in math, social studies, and so forth. In the elementary grades, at least one from each grade level. And by doing that we hoped to infuse ideas into the various schools.
> (Coordinator, Department of Staff Development)

"The administrator is the key." In a third approach, staff development has looked to building administrators (primarily but not exclusively principals) to involve themselves in some way that would attract collective participation by demonstrating commitment and interest. The forms of involvement sought and achieved have varied from program to program, and have accommodated the particular circumstances that prevail in elementary or secondary schools. In the elementary school pilot projects in mastery learning, an explicit aim was to make the principal the "resource person" in the building. Agreement to participate in the program required a commitment from the building principal to become substantively knowledgeable about the approach by attending weekly administrator inservices, to conduct teachers' inservice meetings, to assist teachers with the preparation of curriculum units, and to organize frequent, regular classroom observations specifically around the principles of mastery learning. In this instance, the program was designed not only to introduce a specific body of instructional theory and practice, but also to draw upon the resources of the principal's role to build a set of habits and work relations that would insure continued adaptability and improvement.

In secondary schools, where a principal's command over each substantive area is less likely and where the scale of administrative obligations (i.e., demands on time) broader, the principle of support is comparable but the tactics markedly different.[1] Group meetings of administrators have been used as the occasion for acquainting principals in broad outline of the nature of staff development initiatives (e.g., the principal of Westlake Elementary made a presentation on the mastery learning program to all the junior high principals). Principals display interest to teachers and to staff development by shifting schedules and awarding leave time for group work, by conducting informal conversations to stay informed about implementation, by encouraging the visits of the staff development consultant.

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[1] Training was staggered over a six-week period so that no more than a third of the faculty would be out of the building (and replaced by substitutes) at any one time.

In all, staff development in the district reflects an awareness that groups are more powerful influences on school success than individuals, and that staff development that proves influential over time taps a set of expectations and practices that are powerful precisely because they are shared. The major tactics toward this end have revolved around capturing the participation of large enough groups in any single school to enhance the prospects for influence.

b. Program success and collegial implementation of ideas. Success has been uneven. On the whole, one can support the argument that where a group is in fact constituted--as a *group*, not a mere collection of persons who happen to be in the same place at the same time--and where that group behaves in collegial fashion in the course of work *in schools*, the prospects for influence are reasonably good. Teachers trace few effects to collective *exposure* to new ideas in or out of school; in fact, collective exposure is as likely to erode as to stimulate commitment to ideas. Teachers do trace substantial effects to collective *application* of new ideas, to participation that is in fact and by design collective. Contrasting successful with unsuccessful attempts produces *three* determinants of success.

First, collective participation has been credited with an effect on teachers practices where persons value and share clear expectations for collegial work over time. Thus, while staff at Westlake believe teachers should have the flexibility and autonomy to test new ideas as individuals, they also argue that group commitment is reasonable where ideas and programs are sufficiently compelling. They claim that mastery learning worked in part because "everybody did it." A prevailing belief at Westlake that school improvement is properly a matter for collective concern and collective action permitted teachers there to apply "polite coercion" to their more reluctant peers:

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[1] Staff development personnel would probably agree that they have not explored the limits of the secondary administrator's role in promoting professional improvement and collective, collegial investment in school improvement in the same ways that they have tested the elementary principal's role.

> I'm not enough of a dreamer to think you're going to get a whole faculty behind something without a little coercion, a little polite coercion. And if you don't do that you don't ever have any growth in your faculty. You always have some people who are willing to try anything new, rather wholeheartedly; some who have some reservations and will go along; and then some who don't want to do it. But, you know, I think if you're going to have faculty involvement, the way to go is the way we went, which was you vote for it and majority rules and that's it.
>
> (Teacher, Westlake Elementary)

Admitting that there were some variations in interest and enthusiasm, the participants describe a situation in which persons have some latitude to "recruit" others in the name of professional growth and school improvement.

> Well, I think probably the key to it, as much as anything, as much as my willingness and commitment, was I think there were several on the faculty who felt very strongly that the things we had been doing were good, were constructive . . . and were looking for more opportunities to continue . . . for additional growth, more gains. . . . And they were able to draw additional support from the other teachers who were maybe a little more reluctant.
>
> (Principal, Westlake Elementary)

By contrast, teachers at Smallwood value their cohesiveness as a contributor to faculty morale, but do not credit collective evaluation of practice or collective involvement in new programs as the route to greater achievement. They resist efforts to promote collective commitments. And at Carey and Park, where groups of teachers participated in pullout programs of instructional improvement training, some teachers claim they enjoyed learning as a group away from school, but displayed no expectation that comparable group efforts would prove necessary and consequential upon their return. The few enthusiastic adopters of the program ideas treat implementation as an individual obligation. In contrast stands the reported experience of Westlake teachers, who turned to each other following each new exposure to theory to ask, "Now how are *we* going to apply this?"

The influential role played by staff development at Westlake is, in teachers' eyes, a function of the fact that the principal and all teaching staff were engrossed in the mastery learning project; the weight of sheer numbers is compelling. Still, as one looks back over the history of Westlake in the years immediately preceding the mastery learning project, one begins to speculate that "numbers" are less a cause than a consequence. That is, in the four years preceding the pilot project, a set of conditions was generated (also in partnership with staff development) that enabled teachers to view coercion under certain circumstances as "polite." The project negotiation that was successfully completed in a month with an agreement to participate may more appropriately be viewed as the product of one month plus four years. The expectations for collegial work, for engagement with staff development, for shared work on curriculum and lesson plans, for learning from and with the principal, for investing time in weekly inservice were built gradually and incrementally over time. It is one thing to recognize the salience of group influence in a school, and the way in which prevailing norms create possibilities and limits for innovation and improvement; it is quite another thing to move quickly, as a matter of tactics, to secure some nominal agreement from large numbers of persons to participate in a formal program of staff development.

In the absence of norms as extensive and firmly established as those at Westlake, other tactics may more readily encourage broader participation. At Reed Junior High, an informal agreement among a small group of teachers to implement their training in mastery learning served over a period of months to attract the participation of others as success became evident. Within a few months, teachers from other departments signed up for a week-long training session conducted by their peers. Three teachers at Smallwood attempted a version of this strategy by using the faculty lounge as a place to speak in glowing terms of ideas they were attempting to implement in their classrooms; they report that they did succeed in sparking some interest, though not on the scale observed at Reed.

In all:

> *The more firmly established the norms of collegiality and experimentation, the greater the prospects for securing the involvement of numbers large enough to influence practice.*
>
> *The more clearly stated and widely accepted the value of collective participation, the greater the prospects for staff development to influence teachers' practice.*

Second, collective commitment requires that persons share expectations for specific practices: talking about classroom practice, curriculum and the like; working together to review or prepare materials; observing or being observed; learning from and with one another; teaching peers. In the two schools where staff development is credited with demonstrable influence, attendance in group training sessions has been followed and supplemented by regular teacher work sessions and frequent discussion about "how it's going."

In effect, collective commitment to participate in training *and* to award a serious, extended trial to the proposed ideas and methods offers promise of substantial impact.[1] For teachers at Westlake,where staff development has been credited with major influence, a collective commitment has entailed more than simple group participation in a series of inservice meetings. Teachers describe group discussions of ideas, shared work in preparing written materials and designing lessons, and collaborative review of progress.

> We all had our units, and would do the examples, etc. to fit the units. I worked together with another second grade teacher, took a unit and as we progressed through each [mastery learning] lesson we would add to our unit. Sometimes we had to go back and revise what we'd done because we moved too fast.
>
> (Teacher, Westlake Elementary)

In contrast, there was little enduring effect in those schools where collective participation extended only to attendance at inservice sessions and to some stated willingness to permit classroom observation. There is no evidence that teachers at Carey, Park, or Springer engage in shared preparation of materials or design of lesson plans, that they conduct regular discussions of their progress in implementing ideas learned in the intensive program of instructional improvement that they attended. At Carey, teachers in a grade level meeting displayed considerable surprise when, in response to an interviewer's question, one teacher reported that he used those ideas "constantly, every day."

At issue here is the degree to which the specific practices required for collective implementation of ideas are consistent with the range of interactions already permitted and encouraged in the school. At Westlake, teachers have for several years taught each other the ideas and approaches learned outside the school; such behavior is a taken-for-granted part of work there. At Springer, however, it is less usual for teachers to instruct one another; simply encouraging them to do so and arming them with the relevant written materials is apparently insufficient to give persons the competence, confidence, or social "permission" needed for the chore. Thus, faced with the prospect of teaching his peers about a new program of discipline and classroom management, an instruction committee member deferred to the "experts" and arranged for the staff development team to make a presentation.

In sum, teachers' or principals' ability to enact a role intended for them by staff development (and viewed by staff development as carrying substantial potential influence) centers on the situational *appropriateness* of the interaction--how well it fits the range of behavior approved by and enacted by persons in each school. Over time, the influence of staff development may rest on its ability to demonstrate and enact the salient practices *and* its ability to create situations in which others can become equally practiced in and committed to them.

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[1] Fullan and Pomfret (1977) report that in studies of curriculum reform, the nature and scale of observed results were contingent upon persons' efforts to implement the proposed reform. The more extensive the efforts to test an idea, the more likely it was that effects would be observed.

> *The greater the ability of staff development to secure agreements for a collective participation in implementation, the greater its prospects for influence over teachers' practices.*
>
> *The greater the distance between practices required by collective implementation and practices favored by school staff, the less the prospects for influence and the greater the demands on staff development to cultivate approval of specific central practices.*

Third, collective participation is credited with an effect on teachers' practices where there are specific organizational arrangements that consolidate the gains and reduce the risks of shared work. Even while it improves the odds of success, collective participation in any venture renders it visible and thus raises the stakes; where "public" commitment to implement particular ideas is called for (as it was at Westlake), agreement to proceed adds an element of risk by removing decisions about the nature and extent of practical application from individual control. With collective implementation, persons' knowledge and skill are exposed and stages of progress made known. Under such circumstances, the degree of reciprocity, deference, predictability, and clarity that characterize relations among teachers and between teachers and staff developers (or principals) becomes increasingly salient. Simply, is it safe (or "comfortable," in teachers' words) to make a mistake, to reveal confusion, to witness slow and uneven gains? Questions of good intentions aside, simple statements about being "nonthreatening" will be less persuasive here than observable structural arrangements by which teachers are engaged in and rewarded for their collective efforts. Judging by teachers' descriptions, there are four main ways that schools and staff development can make provisions that preserve the challenge and reduce the risk in shared work.

(1) *Time.* Teachers' expectations for shared work are confirmed when schedules are arranged (or rearranged) to accommodate work sessions, meetings, and periods of instruction. At Reed, teachers received a week's release time to participate in mastery learning training, and arranged for two half-day work sessions to begin converting textbook chapters to mastery learning units. Informal discussions about "how it was going" took place during department meetings, during planning periods, in hallways, and over lunch. At Westlake, teachers spent one morning before school every week for three receiving instruction and engaging in small

group work to apply elements of theory in lesson plans and curriculum design. These teachers also use faculty meetings, grade level meetings, lunch hours, and casual encounters in the halls to raise issues of practice. Walking the halls at the end of the school day, one is likely to encounter a group of teachers gathered in a classroom working on materials or dividing up labor on a curriculum project. Their efforts to "find time" to work on school improvement are rewarded by a principal who praises their efforts, who visibly sacrifices his own time before and after school to projects of school improvement, and who regularly applies the resources at his disposal (e.g., release time) to allow team work during the course of the school day. (A resource team of two teachers, for example, receives release time each week to design and prepare materials to be used for practice and testing in certain basic skill areas.)

Certainly schedules here are no less crowded and no more flexible than in other schools. Teachers consider time a scarce and valued commodity and depict competing demands for time spent in individual preparation, time spent in class, and time spent in work with colleagues. Still, there is a prevailing belief that the time spent has paid off. One teacher at Westlake remarked that her preparation time is far greater, but that teaching is easier and more rewarding.

(2) *Materials and information.* Teachers' expectations for shared work are confirmed when they are supplied with the materials and information needed to do good work, and when shared work includes review or preparation of materials. As teachers at Westlake struggled together to prepare curriculum units, lesson plans, practice materials, and tests, they relied at first on written guidelines distributed during each inservice meeting and compiled in individual notebooks. Following the proposed steps while preparing their own materials, they gained competence and confidence by their repeated immersion in the new ideas and methods. At the same time, they created a kind of text that they could fall back on as they applied the ideas in the classroom. Their work made early stages of practice more predictable and over time eased the requirements for preparation by establishing a whole "bank" of curriculum units from which all teachers could draw.

Among the discoveries of the Rand Corporation's (1978) change agent study was the finding that programs were more successfully implemented where teachers were engaged in the local production of materials. Our observations suggest there is more to this than the simple investment that comes with being directly involved and consulted; by producing their own mastery units, teachers in these schools were sufficiently immersed in and practiced in the ideas that they became "habit." At Reed, one teacher reports how much more difficult it was to use a unit prepared by someone else when he was first starting because he hadn't been in on the discussion about how each piece fit strategically with the next.[1]

(3) Stringent *demands* are matched by rigorous assistance. Teachers accept challenge when arrangements offer assurance that (a) an experiment that fails is tolerable, but (b) every assistance will be offered to aid success. Teachers at Westlake reported that they were "accountable" for increased student performance by virtue of their participation in the pilot project; they also reported that the instruction and assistance were sufficiently regular and aggressive that "you couldn't get out of there without knowing what you were doing." By this account, it appears that staff development can escalate demands on teachers if there are specific, visible, and credited means of escalating the rewards as well. Commenting on the investment and commitment displayed at Westlake, the district's staff development coordinator commented that "we learned . . . that we can put higher demands on people than we thought we could. Once our expectations got expressed at a higher level, the performance was at a higher level." This statment, while sound, deserves qualification: While escalating the *demands* on teachers and principal at Westlake and the other mastery learning schools, the staff development team simultaneously expanded the arrangements and agreements that *protected* persons from undue scrutiny or blame.

(4) Provisions are made to build teachers' and principals' *capabilities* for description, analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of practice; to build command over particular ideas and methods and to give teachers and principals practice in collegial work. Over time, work on a specific set of ideas or methods becomes the mechanism by which teachers' and principals' views of their own roles are expanded. Reward is increased and risk diminished as school personnel gain greater confidence in and control over the improvement of school practice. The success that the principal at Westlake enjoyed in conducting faculty inservices stems in part from the way that administrator training made allowance for incremental and cumulative command over ideas; principals were introduced to the theory and its application in stages (just as teachers were), and were not required to assume the stance of instructor until they began to gain some facility with the approach. In addition, the nature of the collaborative agreement among principal, teachers, and consultant fostered a shared sense that

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[1] Teachers value their collective work on materials when that work contributes demonstrably to their own knowledge, competence, and confidence. Used simply as a way to engage teachers in "hands-on" work, however, and to increase a store of classroom supplies (e.g., instructional games), the tactic wears thin. One teacher complained that her time was too costly to waste preparing materials that were more skillfully and efficiently produced by commercial publishers.

everyone was learning together, and that the presentation of ideas in inservice was the beginning of a practical test, not the culmination of one.

Thus, in schools where staff development is credited with influence, collective participation entailed conditions of inclusivity that stretched beyond group attendance in training sessions and that called for extensive shared work among teachers on implementation. Teachers convey an expectation for learning in the presence of others (e.g., group attendance in classes, meetings, and inservices) and a parallel expectation for testing that learning in practice in the presence of others and with their knowledge and assistance.

3. Focus

The offer of shared work turns out to be something of a fruitless exercise in the absence of a shared idea; teachers and administrators involve themselves in staff development most willingly and consistently when there is something of demonstrable relevance to work *on*. Programs have been most powerful in influencing schoolwide practices in and out of the classroom where teachers and others have worked together to accomplish a known set of aims and have concentrated on understanding and applying a specific set of ideas. In two schools working to introduce mastery learning, staff development has contributed to a change in classroom tactics and to closer, more routine, and more rewarding working relationships among teachers.

At Westlake, teachers claim a long history of working closely together (especially in the face of problems), but comment that the recent efforts to apply the specific principles of mastery learning have altered and intensified their collegial relations. They now work together to design, research, and prepare curriculum units; they share a language for describing classroom practice, and their collective struggles to test new ideas have left them more at ease in sharing difficulties and arguing the relative merits of new ideas. Similarly, members of the math department at Reed found that their common efforts to introduce mastery learning in classes and to convert textbooks to mastery units served to increase both the frequency of their interaction and the satisfaction they derived from joint work. A teacher who has drawn extensively from fellow department members in recent months finds that the focus on mastery learning has promoted closer departmental relations and has enabled teachers to learn from and with each other in a fashion not afforded by the more typical "help when needed" exchange.

Where the focus is unarticulated and involvement based on a more general offer of assistance, it is less likely to engage teachers in shared work either with outside partners or, critically, with each other. The more ambiguous the proposed interactions, the less able are teachers to judge an appropriate line of work and the less able are they to judge the capabilities (hence usefulness) of a program or person.

> Like our supervisors are out here and they walk up to you and say, "What can I help you do?" And you don't know what to say. . . . O.K., so we have a weakness in the department. We have a little problem in the reading department that maybe they can sort out. . . . But to just walk up and say, 'What can I do for you? How can I help you?'
>
> (Teacher, Springer Junior High)

Further, staff development is credited with influence not only where it focuses on a specific set of shared aims, ideas, or methods, but also where it exhibits *concreteness* in language and practice. Thus, a teacher who praises the performance of the mastery learning instructors remembers that they worked with teachers on the wording of instructional objectives, on analyzing the precise skills required to meet those objectives, on the sequence of instruction and practice reflected in lesson plans, and on the preparation of tests. By contrast, a teacher denigrating the performance of university staff in a "teacher effectiveness training" workshop invoked criteria of concreteness; the advice struck teachers as "more educational clichés" on the order of "give kids positive strokes." Absent from such advice, by his account, was any precise description that would permit teachers to sort out situations calling for praise, a range of praise tactics, or the effects of overexaggerated praise on student performance or peer reactions.

To some degree, teachers' complaints that staff development is "geared too much to elementary school" or "geared too much to secondary school" can be viewed as complaints about concreteness. When the Department of Staff Development conducts training sessions in general approaches to classroom instruction and management--sessions that stress such uniformly applicable principles as "teaching to an objective"--they work to incorporate examples from a range of grade levels, subject areas, and situations. Still, the complaints continue and the question remains: How do teachers and administrators come to *regard* a particular treatment as credibly and persuasively "concrete?"

Complaints that courses or other staff development offer "just theory" do not appear to reflect teachers' reluctance to grapple with ideas, but their insistence that the treatment of ideas be properly rigorous. Teachers expect others to display sufficient familiarity with the reality of classrooms to be able to anticipate and guide appropriate practice, and sufficient familiarity with current research to judge desirable applications. A teacher praised one out-of-state graduate program for its efforts to combine theory, research, and practice in every class. A junior high teacher commented that her classes in curriculum go unremembered because lectures on "schools of thought" went unsupported by any practice in constructing a curriculum that would both reflect current ideas and accommodate the realities in a particular school.

And finally, staff development consolidates and extends its affects by *fostering* focused interactions among teachers and others in the course of their ordinary work. Thus, to sustain the focus of mastery learning required that teachers scrutinize their own practice and reveal their observations in discussion with others. Particularly at Westlake, staff development was designed to create the time and award the assistance needed as teachers and principal working together became more and more practiced in the concrete description and analysis of classroom practice.

In sum:

> *Staff development exerts influence to the extent that it (1) introduces or agrees upon and sustains a* focus *that is recognizably tied to the felt aims, obligations. and experiences of teachers and administrators; (2)* exhibits *a degree of specificity and concreteness in discussion and practice that supports the translation of ideas into practice; and (3)* promotes *focused interaction among teachers and administrators in schools by arranging occasions in which school staff, working together, describe, analyze, interpret, plan for, or teach each other about some aspect of school practice.*

4. Time: Frequency and Duration of Staff Development

Mastering the practice of teaching is, according to one teacher, like learning to play a musical instrument. It takes time, practice, some tolerance for mistakes along the way, and some way of marking progress. With this image in mind, there are two separate but interrelated senses in which time has been taken into account in designing staff development. The first is a dimension of *frequency:* the sheer number of opportunities that teachers have to work on ideas and their application in classrooms. The second is a dimension of *duration:* an expectation for--and set of provisions for--*progressive gains* in competence and confidence.

a. Frequency of interaction.

> *The more opportunities there are to grapple with an idea, the more numerous the opportunities to practice it, and the more frequent the interactions with consultants and fellow teachers to resolve problems and review progress, the more likely that promising ideas will find their way into classroom practice.*

At Westlake Elementary School, where teachers claim that they all apply mastery learning (though some are more aggressive and enthusiastic than others), teachers attended inservice meetings once a week for three years; the inservice sessions were supplemented by regular classroom observations and conferences and by team work among teachers to design and produce curriculum units. It may not be overstating the case to say that at Westlake teachers had occasion on a daily basis to think about, work on, or see demonstrated some aspect of mastery learning.

At Reed Junior High, members of the math department followed their week-long training in mastery learning with periodic group meetings to begin converting math textbooks to curriculum units; they talked with each other about problems and progress; and they received regular visits from a district consultant.

At Carey Elementary School, teachers returned enthusiastic after an eight-day training session, but the training session took place near the end of the school year, leaving scant time for a single round of followup classroom visits. The principal, though trained in classroom observation and conference techniques and in adopting the stance of consultant or advisor, did not engage in classroom observation in that fashion that spring or the subsequent fall. Enthusiasm waned and only one of the original participants reports a systematic attempt to use the full range of ideas presented in the inservice.

Teachers support regular, frequent meetings, observations, and work sessions when such occasions add demonstrably to their confidence and skill. At Westlake, teachers who were admittedly weary of the pressing schedule of meetings still credited those meetings with contributing to their knowledge and enhancing their effectiveness in the classroom. They welcomed observations that were built on shared expectations for what a "good job" looked like and that were scheduled often enough for observers to judge and credit teachers' progress. At both Carey Elementary and Reed Junior High, on the other hand, teachers reported that the conferences following observation had been disappointing. *More* of them would not have added appreciably to teachers' inclination to translate theory into practice.

> *The more frequent the interactions between teachers and staff development, the more salient will be teachers' views of their utility and the greater the prospects that they will either build or erode a commitment to norms of collegiality and experimentation that extend to staff development.*

b. Duration: Providing for progressive gains. Staff development is credited by teachers with greatest influence where it permits gradual and incremental command over a set of ideas

102

and cumulative skill in adapting ideas to classroom reality.[1] Teachers' complaints that undergraduate education left them woefully unprepared for classroom life are simply indicative of a broader dilemma: no amount of "preservice" or "front end" preparation will equip teachers or administrators for the realities they face as they work to turn theory into practice. Even when classwork or preservice sessions attend to practical problems in detail, teachers report that they have no context for establishing the adequacy of the examples, relevance of the advice, the nature of appropriate additional questions and issues.[2] If there is, as teachers claim, no substitute for experience, we are left with the question how the work situation and staff development can combine to celebrate and advance experience: to render it describable, analyzable, and improvable. One response provided by teachers is to acknowledge and make deliberate provision for the fact that any experience is cumulative.

In their descriptions of staff development, teachers reveal several ways in which arrangements have supported precisely such cumulative understanding and practice.

(1) It contributes and elaborates a language and set of ideas for the precise description, analysis, and interpretation of classroom practice. In the first stages of the mastery learning project, therefore, teachers were acquainted with the theory and vocabulary of mastery learning; their command over the ideas and language grew as they heard it week after week in inservice sessions and as they used it with each other in the course of preparing mastery curriculum units.

(2) The introduction of ideas is staged over time. Early stages of work serve to confirm shared aims and expectations,

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[1] Lortie (1975:72) observes that for teachers entering the profession there is no sequential addition of tasks that allows for a gradual increase in skill and knowledge. Our observations suggest that this also applies to experienced teachers encountering new and unfamiliar situations on both small and large scale (e.g., ranging from minor changes in curriculum to desegregation), and to teachers routinely and continuously engaged in becoming better at what they do.

[2] Teachers who harbor more elaborate expectations of these inservices (i.e. who expected to come away from them fully informed on and practiced in the details of testing, grouping, instructing) were disappointed to find that they were still "feeling my way" after several months. Preservice sessions might foster greater satisfaction by making their contributions and limitations explicit, and by acknowledging the kinds of supplemental assistance teachers can more usefully provide each other once underway.

to outline a probable sequence of work, and to introduce or generate a focus.

To expect that staff development personnel will display a detailed understanding of teachers' or schools' work situations or present knowledge and competence is unrealistic; to expect that teachers will display a sophisticated command of proposed new ideas or methods is equally unrealistic. Even where teachers have been immersed in intensive preservice sessions designed precisely to introduce theory and language and to offer selective opportunities to apply those ideas, they report that the kind of "imprinted" command that brings habitual thought and practice is long in coming. At Westlake Elementary, teachers attended weekly inservice sessions for a full semester in preparation for trying mastery learning; each session combined theory with an opportunity for application to a curriculum unit. By the second semester, teachers were sufficiently well prepared to try the ideas in practice.

(3) Expectations for practical application are clearly stated. Teachers credit staff development with influencing their work where it has been demonstrably and unavoidably clear that classroom application is anticipated. Such expectations are confirmed for teachers in three ways: they are explicitly *stated* as part of the original conditions of and introduction to formal staff development, they are *enacted* by persons who conduct staff development as they engage in classroom observation and teacher conferences, and they are *sanctioned* by building principals whose expectations for classroom performance (and observation) match those established through staff development.

Teachers' understanding of ideas and methods is confirmed and strengthened by classroom observation where there are: known and shared expectations for what constitutes a "good job," an emphasis on accomplishments during conferences, a parallel willingness to expose areas of weakness and discuss areas of improvement, and a practice of scheduling observations frequently enough to witness progress and continuity.

(4) Teachers sustain their commitment over time with the provision for *progressive* mastery of new ideas and new practice. At Westlake, where weekly inservices stretched over three years, the demands on teachers' competence in the classroom escalated

over time.[1] The first year's inservice program was designed to require the preparation of a single mastery learning unit during the first semester, in preparation for classroom trial during the second semester. Preparation of the unit forced teachers to come to terms immediately and practically with translating ideas into practice, but delayed exposure to the actual classroom situation until there was some sort of "script" in hand upon which teachers could rely. One teacher recalls, "By the time I'd done two units step by step I was more convinced."[2] Escalation was thus rapid enough to sustain some measure of challenge, and slow enough to build confidence and offer certain signs of progress.

Similarly, in the first year examples and curriculum units were organized around applications in mathematics, on the ground that mastery learning principles and methods were most clearly evident there (e.g., in math, the analysis of prerequisite and component skills needed to achieve an instructional objective is relatively straightforward). Only in the second year were teachers encouraged to take on more complex and diffuse curriculum areas, including affective education. As teachers have gained understanding and confidence, they have expanded the range of curriculum areas in which they attempt mastery units.

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[1] Teachers remark that university courses and other formal programs located outside the school underestimate the *amount* of practice required and ignore the *sequence* of practice required for "theory" to become a part of teachers' or administrators' practical repertoire.

> I think of a class I took in college with a professor who lectured for ten or twelve sessions on methodology of social studies. And someone said, "Well, why don't you put some of that into practice?" And he said, "Well, you're going to get a chance to do that in the last week." And everyone had five or ten minutes to present a lesson (Teacher, Reed Junior High).

[2] Teachers in secondary schools who received mastery learning training on a "pullout" basis remarked that instructors were more stringent in their requirements for curriculum unit preparation for those teachers who took the training for credit. Judging by teachers' accounts of implementation at Westlake and Reed, the preparation of a curriculum unit is an important stage in building and confirming an understanding of the theory; the availability of a unit as a guide to practice is an important determinant in whether teachers actually try the ideas in practice and how well they fare. Thus, applying more stringent standards to those who take the training for credit may unintentionally operate to diminish the prospects for success on the part of those who sign up out of simple interest. This is particularly critical in light of the fact that secondary schools are less likely to have the kind of long-term collaborative assistance that was available to the pilot elementary schools, and in light of the typically more narrow boundaries of collegiality in secondary schools.

Recognizing the importance of systematic practice and the value of regular assistance, the designers of the district's staff development programs have progressively lengthened the period of time over which classroom assistance is available following organized group training. What began several years ago as a provision for two weeks' followup in a building stretched to three months, then a year and, with the mastery learning project, to three years.

Certainly there is no escaping the difference in demonstrable impact witnessed in the mastery learning schools in contrast to schools engaged in more short-term efforts. By arrangements for extended consultation, assistance is presumably sustained long enough for the "practicality" of ideas to be confirmed. A flurry of frequent meetings concentrated in the early stages of a new program or in response to some crisis is unlikely to produce the same enduring habit of shared work and the same commitment to analysis and experimentation that can be generated by more evenly paced efforts over a long period of time.

With diminishing resources and with expanding (often competing) demands on the time of staff development team members, it is unlikely that staff development programs will continue to be able to invest the time required to provide this form of intensive, long-term assistance. (Even where programs permitted a year's calendar time for classroom assistance, teachers report that classroom visits following some training programs were relatively rare as staff development team members were spread more and more thinly across buildings.) To the extent that frequency of interaction is a powerful determinant in teachers' adaptability to new circumstances and new practice, then, staff development is faced with seeking alternative arrangements. Judging by teachers' accounts, one scenario might go like this: staff developers, making explicit the demands and probable sequence of implementation, seek some internal agreement for relatively frequent interaction among teachers or between teachers and principal. Teachers and principals assume the task of mutual observation and critique (within the bounds specified by the particular practices at issue), at first on a modest scale with the assistance of the consultant and with the aim of "practicing" a language and demeanor that would make such (frequently atypical and forbidden) interactions properly reciprocal and deferential ("comfortable" or "nonthreatening"). The consultant uses visits to the building not only to address substantive questions ("are we doing this right?"), but to assist teachers or principals in their consultant-like work with one another.[1] One principal, for example, described the way he used a combination of videotapes, role playing, and actual practice in school to learn a classroom observation-conference procedure that was properly a "consultation."

This is precisely the approach employed in the mastery learning pilot project. Expanded, it relieves the obligation on staff developers to be six places at once, but increases their obligation to attend specifically, deliberately, and persistently to prevailing norms of collegiality in a building. To the extent that staff development is successful, then, it will not only have contributed ideas and methods but will have altered the frequency and nature of staff interactions. It will have, in effect, expanded a school's capacity to anticipate and adapt to change, to be (in the words of one principal) "self-assessing."

Extended collaboration with teachers thus contributes to collegiality and to an experimental stance by increasing the chances that teachers will be rewarded for their pains; by taking the time to implement ideas fully and fairly, teachers increase the odds of witnessing some success. The worth of collegial efforts may be confirmed for teachers whose long-term participation in a collective venture pays off in eventual classroom success.[2] One teacher described it this way:

> Give yourself *time to see it work.* You'll be frustrated at first because it will seem overwhelming. If you'll go step by step and give it at least six months, give it a chance, and don't take shortcuts . . . then you'll be convinced. If it's implemented correctly, you'll see results. And with results, you'll get confidence.
>
> (Teacher, Westlake Elementary)

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[1] This is in fact the approach taken in assisting the mastery learning pilot schools. Its virtues seem sufficiently well-established to warrant adaptation to a range of school circumstances.

[2] The apparent importance of this aspect of staff development raises some questions about how newcomers are introduced to buildings where staff development has enjoyed a long-term role and where teachers and administrators value and practice an elaborate language for describing and improving classroom practice. At Westlake, two semester replacement teachers found it difficult to apply the mastery learning principles because the terms were "foreign," the opportunities for cumulative understanding and practice absent.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In their training, many teachers are taught that good teaching is self-evident, that good teaching can be mastered alone by a kind of trial and error accumulation of miscellaneous devices which at least get teachers through the day, and that teachers can get help (at the risk of their self-respect) by asking others. This vision of teaching as a lonesome enterprise is powerfully confirmed by teachers' daily experience in many schools. Persistent expectations about joint work by teachers place stringent limits both on collegiality and on experimentation, and therefore on the ability of schools to adapt to changing circumstances and changing student populations, and on the ability of teachers to improve their practice.

We are led from a focus on innovation and adaptation as an individual enterprise to improvement as a particularly organizational phenomenon. Some schools sustain shared expectations (norms) both for extensive collegial work and for analysis and evaluation of and experimentation with their practices; continuous improvement is a shared undertaking in their schools, and these schools are the most adaptable and successful of the schools we studied.

From the large array of interactions which we observed and which could somehow be called "collegial" in character, four classes of interactions appear crucial. School improvement is most surely and thoroughly achieved when:

> Teachers engage in frequent, continuous, and increasingly concrete and precise *talk* about teaching *practice* (as distinct from teacher characteristics and failings, the social lives of teachers, the foibles and failures of students and their families, and the unfortunate demands of society on the school). By such talk, teachers build up a shared language adequate to the complexity of teaching, capable of distinguishing one practice and its virtues from another, and capable of integrating large bodies of practice into distinct and sensible perspectives on the business of teaching. Other things being equal, the utility of collegial work and the rigor of experimentation with teaching is a direct function of the concreteness, precision, and coherence of the shared language.
>
> Teachers and administrators frequently *observe* each other teaching, and provide each other with useful (if potentially frightening) evaluations of their teaching. Only such observation and feedback can provide shared *referents* for the shared language of teaching, and both demand and provide the precision and concreteness which makes the talk about teaching useful.

> Teachers and administrators *plan, design, research, evaluate, and prepare teaching materials together.* The most prescient observations remain academic ("just theory") without the machinery to act on them. By joint work on materials, teachers and administrators share the considerable burden of development required by long-term improvement, confirm their emerging understanding of their approach, and make rising standards for their work attainable by them and by their students.
>
> Teachers and administrators *teach each other* the practice of teaching. In the most adaptable schools, most staff, at one time or another, on some topic or task, will be permitted and encouraged to play the role of instructor for others. In this way, the school makes maximum use of its own resources.

These four types of practices so clearly distinguish the more successful from the less successful schools, the more adaptable from the less adaptable schools, that we have termed them the "critical practices of adaptability."

Confining our attention to these four types of practices, other characteristics of interaction about teaching tend both to distinguish the schools we studied and to help us to understand the requirements of these practices and the tactics which help to establish and maintain them:

> In successful and adaptable schools, all four practices occur frequently and in a variety of places: training, sessions, faculty meetings, grade or department meetings, hallways, classrooms, and the teachers' lounge. Collegial experimentation is a way of life; it pervades the school. While time for joint work is always a problem, time is used very efficiently because all available times tend to be used.
>
> In successful and adaptable schools, interaction about teaching is consciously and steadily focused on *practice,* on what teachers do, with what aims, in what situations, with what materials, and with what apparent results. The focus on practice makes the interactions more immediately useful and therefore more likely to be sustained. And crucially, a focus on *practices* as distinct from *teachers* helps to preserve self-respect and eliminate barriers to discussion; the *utility* of a practice is thus separated from the *competence* of a teacher.
>
> In adaptable and successful schools, interactions about teaching tend to be *inclusive*; a large proportion of the faculty participates, is part of the group of innovators. Even where smaller groups explore new options for teaching, they are mindful of the consequences for other staff and prepare thoughtful strategies for including others or for preserving their good will (or at least neutrality).

In adaptable and successful schools, interaction about teaching is described as speaking specifically to the complexities of the classroom. The talk is *concrete*, "practical." This is not to say that it is not philosophical or theoretical, because teachers report that interactions which provide a broad perspective on teaching have been most helpful. It is, rather, to say that the philosophy or theory must always be brought to the ground of specific actions in the classroom.

Attainment of interaction which can tie theory to concrete practice is not instant; the cumulative development of a shared language of teaching becomes crucial here. The more powerful and fully developed the shared language, the greater the facility with which broad perspectives can be applied to specific practices in the classroom. Observation becomes critical, and a willingness to observe and be observed in a useful, critical fashion is not built instantly.

In successful and adaptable schools, interactions about teaching are seen as *reciprocal*, even when they involve persons of different status (principal versus teacher) or different function (staff development consultant versus teacher). In part, reciprocity means an equality of effort by the parties involved. In part, reciprocity means an equality or at least an exchange of benefits. In part, reciprocity means equal humility in the face of the complexity of the task, and of the limits of one's own understanding. But crucially, reciprocity means *deference*, a manner of acting and speaking which demonstrates an understanding that an evaluation of one's practices is very near to an evaluation of one's competence, and which demonstrates great care in distinguishing the two and focusing on the first.

In successful and adaptable schools, collegiality and experimentation are made *relevant to*, an integral part of, the occupation and career of teaching. Teacher evaluations, access to resources, release time and other perquisites are clearly tied to collegial participation in the improvement of practice.

The status of an actor, both ascribed, e.g., position, and achieved (a reputation as a master teacher) tends to limit the rights of the actor to *initiate* and to *participate* in collegial experimentation. In some schools, such rights are limited to principals, department chairs, and some influential teachers. In the more successful and adaptable schools, rights to initiate and participate are more widely distributed, rely less on formal position, and are variable by situation. The greenest teacher who just happens to have taken a course of interest to other faculty is more free to initiate, participate in, and even lead some collegial work *in that situation.*

At any given time, actors' technical skills and knowledge tend to limit their latitude to initiate, participate in, or lead collegial work. Particularly where a faculty has established a direction and developed an approach and a language, teachers who have not shared in the prior developments find the "ante" too high; however, these persons can and have been brought up to speed where specific arrangements are made to provide support and to find joy and virtue in steps which the older hands attained much earlier. On the whole, we are inclined to see technical skill more as a consequence of, rather than as a precondition for, collegial experimentation in this sense: in the absence of the other social characteristics of interaction, technical skill will not produce adaptability, but where the social requirements of adaptation are met, technical skill can be increased progressively.

Finally, in successful and adaptable schools, the staff have learned social or "role" skills. Playing teacher to students is different from playing teacher to a teacher. Daily interaction with students in a classroom is not preparation for providing a useful classroom observation for an older, more experienced, and higher status teacher.

The crucial matter of *deference*--the behavioral and linguistic distinction of practices from persons and their competence--particularly requires role-taking skill. The younger and less experienced teacher providing an observation and critique for an older, more experienced teacher may find a couple of items on which useful comments might be provided. If the younger teacher acts as one acts toward students, we might expect, at the very least, that the useful comments will not be heard by the older teacher. There is a very limited, deferential role of "consultant" which the younger teacher might play, by asking a question about the observed practice rather than making a statement about it.

Such role-taking is not a universal skill. Rather, it tends to be learned where it is defined and required as a condition of collegial work. And in general, the skill is teachable.

Systematic attention to the preceding characteristics and requirements of collegial experimentation both distinguish schools we observed and will, it appears, increase the chances for building an adaptable and successful school.

By virtue first of office and then of performance, principals are in a unique position to establish and maintain the important norms of collegiality and experimentation, and to promote and foster the critical practices of talk about practice, observation of practice, joint work on materials, and teaching each other about teaching. Other characteristics of principals and of the situation aside, our observations indicate that principals can promote those norms and practices primarily by:

Announcing and describing them, particularly at important occasions such as the first staff meeting at the beginning of a year, then frequently and on various occasions thereafter to confirm and specify the desired interactions among teachers. The principal must imagine the desired behavior, then describe it concretely as the principal's expectations for life in the school.

Modeling or enacting the desired behavior, by asking staff for evaluation of the principal's performance, by providing useful, concrete observations of classes, by seeking out teachers to talk about practice, by contributing to the preparation of materials, by giving time while asking for time.

By sanctioning the announced and modeled behavior, in the allocation of resources such as released time, in required or formal evaluations of teacher performance, by visible and public praise for collegial or experimental efforts, by tolerating and absorbing inevitable failures encountered in experimentation, and so on.

By *defending* the norms thus established from countermovements within the school and from impositions from outside the school, from parents, the district, and others. Courage is likely to be crucial to this defense. Equally important, and more malleable, is skill in *translation* and *reconciliation* which deflects some blows, softens others, and negates yet others by finding commonalities of interest and intent among presumably opposing demands.

It appears that these steps of announcing and describing desired practices, modeling them, sanctioning them, and defending them are all to a great extent learnable skills; attention to them will be of great assistance to principals.

To this point, we have tried to describe and analyze characteristics of adaptable schools. For us, then, the probable effectiveness of staff development is a function of its attention to those characteristics. Staff development will be more effective to the degree it accommodates, builds on, stimulates, and nourishes the norms of collegiality and experimentation and the critical practices of talk, observation, joint work on materials, and teaching each other to teach.

Staff development activities seen by teachers as most useful and influential are described as collaborations between staff development personnel and a school, not something which staff development does to the school but something they do together, each playing a part.

Collaborative arrangements confirm that collegial experimentation is *relevant* to teaching as an occupation and as a career. Individual requirements and aims, district requirements and aims, and realities of work at the building level are more readily reconciled and dealt with affirmatively when a partnership is negotiated.

Collaboration provides the opportunity to build the shared language of teaching not only among teachers in the school, but also among staff developers and teachers. Aims, approach, requirements, reciprocal expectations--all are made clearer. More substantial commitments from school staff are possible.

In collaborative work between staff developers and schools, necessary reciprocity may be established between staff developers with their "book learning" and teachers with their "experience." Particularly, by inviting a collaboration, staff developers are then able to *model* collegiality and experimentation, as one of several partners in a team. The crucial matter of *deference* can be displayed, practiced, and perfected.

Effective staff development activities foster collective participation of the staff in a school. Teachers are not seen as individuals who are drawn out, changed, and put back, but are seen as members of an organization, whose adoption of innovations depends on the characteristics of the organization, and whose knowledge as members of that organization can be turned to creating the conditions under which all staff in the school will progress as they work together. It is important that school staff attend training as groups, even more important that they *implement* as groups, strengthening their collegial and experimental practices even as they adopt a specific new practice.

Recognition of the importance of the school as a workplace and of the needs for collaboration and collective work among staff developers and school staffs has led the staff development department in the school district we observed to rely less on one-shot training sessions and to rely increasingly on more frequent interactions of longer duration, in order to support progressive attainment of skill and collegial work.

Attempting to provide assistance more frequently and over a longer duration has stretched the resources of that department. This resource problem has led them to seek ways to cultivate the norms and practices of adaptability in schools as a substitute for their own direct efforts in schools. To the degree that staff developers can refine strategies for creating "self-assessing" and adaptable schools, they can introduce schools to new options for teaching with greater assurance that the schools will be able to make the most of those options using their internal resources.

In short, staff development becomes less a question of development of individual teachers and more a question of organizational change. By concentrating on the requirements and tactics of adaptability, both school staffs and staff developers can make the most of the considerable resources they do have for getting better at teaching.

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SCHOOL SUCCESS AND STAFF DEVELOPMENT: THE ROLE OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

APPENDIX A:

CASE STUDIES

Judith Warren Little

January 1981

Center for Action Research, Inc.
1125 Spruce Street
Boulder, Colorado

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

WESTLAKE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL 1

CAREY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL 46

SPRINGER JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL 76

PARK HIGH SCHOOL 111

REED JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL 149

SMALLWOOD ELEMENTARY SCHOOL 185

WESTLAKE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION 2

II. TEACHERS' VIEWS OF WESTLAKE SCHOOL 3

A GENERAL TONE: BEATING THE DRUMS FOR WESTLAKE SCHOOL 3

III. LEARNING ON THE JOB 9

INTRODUCTION 9

STAFF DEVELOPMENT AT WESTLAKE SCHOOL IS CURRENT AND CONTINUOUS: TEACHERS LEARN ALL THE TIME 10

TEACHERS' INVOLVEMENT IN STAFF DEVELOPMENT IS COLLECTIVE AND COLLEGIAL 12
- Teachers' Collective Involvement 13
- The Role of the Principal 16

THE NATURE OF TEACHERS' INVOLVEMENT WITH STAFF DEVELOPMENT CHANGES OVER TIME 18
- Emerging Substantive Understanding 18
- Emerging Strategic Understanding 20
- Emerging Role Relationships 22

INVOLVEMENT WITH STAFF DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN CONSEQUENTIAL: IT HAS MADE A DIFFERENCE FOR TEACHERS AND STUDENTS 27
- Consequences for Student Performance 27
- Consequences for Teachers' Performance In Class 29
- Consequences for Teachers' Collegial Relationships 31
- Consequences for Teachers' Relationships With Parents 33

IV. THE PRINCIPAL'S VIEW 33

INTRODUCTION: SHAPING A VIEW OF THE PRINCIPALSHIP 33

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

PAGE

THE PRINCIPAL'S VIEW OF THE TEACHERS' ROLE 39

THE MASTERY LEARNING PROJECT 41

V. SUMMARY 45

FIGURES

FIGURE 1: AN EMERGING ROLE OF PRINCIPAL AS CHANGE AGENT 40

I. INTRODUCTION

Four years ago, in 1976, Westlake Elementary School[1] agreed to become one of five elementary schools participating in a pilot project in mastery learning. That event colors the views that teachers have of their work at Westlake, their view of working relationships with students, administrators, and parents, and their view of outsiders. It colors their sense of learning on the job, and their stance toward new ideas and new practices. It pervades their formulation of problems and solutions.

Over a three-year period, staff development served as the major strategy for introducing and implementing the ideas of mastery learning. That is, the pilot project for mastery learning was *also* a pilot project for a mode of staff development organized around a collaborative arrangement among teachers, principal, and district consultant, and focused on a specific set of ideas.

Mastery learning has taken hold at Westlake. There is simply no escaping its presence; it pervades the language of teachers when they talk to each other about improving the performance of non-English speaking children ("We could do a mastery unit . . ."). It pervades the talk of teachers to strangers seeking to understand the school: "We apply mastery learning here." It is the basis of the school's recognition in a broader community: during the time of our observations, the school was celebrated in a local television broadcast, was visited by a team of teachers from another state, and the project was mentioned in a New York Times article on mastery learning. Teachers think about and talk about Westlake as a "mastery learning school."

In an urban district where federal projects have been numerous, where innovations have come and gone, and where ideas and vocabulary may change as quickly and as often as the funding, the degree to which mastery learning has been integrated into the work of teaching and administration may appear remarkable. The temptation, of course, is to view developments at Westlake as an extraordinary circumstance, a fluke, a matter of sheer personality. The teachers themselves do not hold that view. For all their cohesiveness in years past, they did not engage then in the kind of aggressive program of instructional improvement that they have pursued in the last several years. Similarly, the principal talks about earlier involvement with innovative federally funded projects that, in spite of every good intention, disappeared without a trace of influence on children or teachers. Apart from matters of personality, and apart from issues of good will and good intentions, there have developed at Westlake a set of organizational arrangements and a pattern of interaction among colleagues that have made it possible for mastery learning and staff development to take hold the way they have. In the following pages, we look to the descriptions offered by teachers and by the building principal to reveal how work at Westlake is organized to promote continuous attention to school improvement and innovation.

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[1] The names of schools and individuals have been changed in order to preserve assurances of anonymity and confidentiality.

II. TEACHERS' VIEWS OF WESTLAKE SCHOOL

We subscribed, as teachers do, to the belief that schools are different from one another in ways that bear upon views of teaching and approaches to "learning on the job." Further, we reasoned that from teachers' collective characterizations of the school as a *workplace* we might gain insight into the prevailing, socially powerful views of "being a teacher" or "being a principal" against which we could place accounts of individual views, preferences, and experiences.

A GENERAL TONE: BEATING THE DRUMS FOR WESTLAKE SCHOOL

Teachers were consistently and outspokenly enthusiastic about Westlake. Even those teachers who were irritated about recent curriculum decisions outside their control, who faced insecurity brought on by declining enrollment, who were struggling this year with non-English speaking students, and who were quite simply tired at the end of the year spoke with praise of the school. No one, to our knowledge, is looking for (or would welcome) a transfer.

> T: I guess I sound like I'm beating the drums for Westlake School and for Mr. Roberts, and I am. I can't think of another building I'd rather be in or another person I'd rather be working with.

Even while teachers admitted some weariness by late spring (including weariness from what was beginning to seem like an endless chain of meetings), they were careful to distinguish being tired from being "burned out."

> T: I don't feel cynical or burned out, but some days I feel a little tired!

> T: There was more to it [mastery learning inservice] than we expected . . . but . . . I've never heard them complain.

Enthusiasm is widespread and reflects satisfaction in diverse areas of school life: satisfaction with students and parents, with collegial relationships among teachers, with the principal's views and actions, and with a sequence of staff development over the last several years. Drawing upon the interviews, we recorded 162 summary descriptions of Westlake as a school (independent of teachers' descriptions of their own work and their own experiences with staff development). The statements reflect the views of all seventeen teachers interviewed,[1] though some teachers talked at greater length than others. Almost three-quarters (73 percent) of these summary statements were positive; they were descriptions of Westlake as a good place to work and a good place for children to go to school. Teachers' recent involvements with staff development (and most specifically with mastery learning) account for over one-third of these statements. That is, part of teachers' satisfaction in working at Westlake is derived from the building's collaborative relationships with persons and organizations outside. In addition, many of the favorable descriptions of internal work arrangements are also bound up with recent efforts to understand and apply mastery learning; teachers' satisfaction appears to derive in large part from collegial interactions with each other and the principal.

Tracing the pattern of favorable and unfavorable or critical descriptions by individual teachers, we find no pockets of discontent, no one group of permanent staff more likely to paint a glowing picture on the one hand, or to complain on the other; our observation accords with the views of teachers that there are no cliques among the faculty. Critical statements by permanent staff tend principally to recount conditions that appear adversely to affect teaching but over which teachers exert little or no influence (e.g., curriculum decisions fostered by the school board or central administration).

Critical views of staff relationships were rare indeed, and were expressed almost exclusively by persons on assignment as semester replacements. These temporary staff found the building congenial enough, and found other teachers and the principal friendly and helpful; they were, however, somewhat at a disadvantage in the face of collective commitment to a single teaching strategy (mastery learning) with which they were unfamiliar, and were less centrally engaged in the kinds of interactions with other teachers that supported and encouraged innovation generally.

In recounting the origins of the mastery learning project, for example, teachers admitted that not everyone had been enthusiastic, but that everyone had agreed to give it a serious try. One teacher reported that a little "polite coercion" would always be called for if one expected a faculty with any growth; another teacher observed that even those who had had reservations about the effort would have to admit they had learned from it. From no one did we gain the impression that participation had been anything but voluntary. In contrast to this view of "history" is the impression conveyed by one of the temporary substitutes, who read expression of reservations as evidence that teachers had been pushed into the program by the principal, and who interpreted teachers' talk of being tired as evidence of "burnout." The view of this temporary member of the faculty stands in particularly sharp contrast to the reported views of the permanent staff when we observe the lengths to which people went in their conversations to distinguish being occasionally tired from being burned out, to distinguish reservations from resistance, weariness from regret.

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[1] Interviews were conducted with all thirteen regular classroom teachers and with four teachers of special programs (including special education and visually handicapped).

In sum, the picture conveyed by teachers (and the impression conveyed to observers over the course of a month) is of a school in which teachers push themselves hard, in which the demands in and out of the classroom are heavy, but in which the rewards are apparently substantial. Pressed for detail, teachers characterize Westlake as a school where:

Collegial interaction among teachers is valued and practiced. Teachers take for granted that classroom practices are a matter of discussion, and that teachers will talk to each other about approaches to instruction, about tactics of maintaining classroom order, about appropriate materials, about specific classroom problems. Teachers use planning time, inservice time, and hours after school to work together in designing and preparing classroom materials. While tight schedules tend to keep teachers out of each other's classrooms, some teachers do have occasion to observe others and observation is typically viewed as "nonthreatening." As it takes shape at Westlake, collegial interaction among teachers entails extensive talk, frequent shared work, and occasional observation.

Teachers describe their interactions with each other as cooperative and professional.[1] They comment that there have never been cliques and that even the demanding course of mastery learning failed to produce factions within a faculty that was, admittedly, not uniformly enthusiastic about the approach. In the words of one teacher, there is a sense of "unity and purpose" that overrides personal differences. Collegiality in this instance arises not only from a sense of shared circumstance (i.e., the camaraderie among teachers that springs from knowledge that they share a difficult job), but from a belief in shared philosophy of education. "We all seem to have the same philosophy about teaching," reports one teacher. They are aware that such a collective view is atypical, and they celebrate it.

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[1] Although teachers like each other and are familiar with each other's personal lives, they tend to play down the social aspects of their cohesiveness and to emphasize its professional character. Their strong sense of collegiality is felt to have its basis in shared work.

Teachers and principal share a view that both present practice and new ideas deserve attention and scrutiny.

T: This happens to be a faculty that seems to be always looking for better ways to do things.

T: I'm convinced that that's the key to success or failure of any new or innovative program: you've got to have a staff that is willing to take an extra step. And then if they're sold on the idea then they've got to stand up and be counted.

Faculty meetings are reported to be (and were observed to be) occasions for serious discussion of the merits of an idea, a place for passing on references or summaries of recent research, a place for frank review and, according to one teacher, even "sharp disagreement."[1] Conversations begun in faculty meeting may be continued in the faculty lounge, where viewpoints prove diverse and where these underlying ground rules seem to prevail: 1) draw on your own knowledge and experience to talk about possible advantages and disadvantages, strengths or weaknesses; but 2) don't knock an idea until you've tried it; and 3) don't knock it while someone else is trying it.

Disagreements over ideas do not appear to jeopardize social relations; persons can credit or discredit *ideas* without seeming to make judgments about the competence, good will, or confidence of persons.

T: Many people disagree on the best way of helping kids to learn. I'm sure my theories would be different from Joe's, for example.

I: Is that ever a topic of conversation?

T: Oh yeah, yeah. Not so much here in the mastery part of it as in the precision teaching part of it because we disagree on it. And it isn't so much that we disagree on the precision [theory] as the way it's done . . . about translation of theory. . . . We have some pretty outspoken

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[1] Lest the school begin to seem an impossible utopia, or this account begin to seem like fiction, we should point out that faculty meetings are also used to take care of mundane administrative business, and that not all members of the faculty leap into seminar-like discussions at the slightest provocation. Of import is the view that such meetings are seen and treated as an appropriate occasion for such interaction.

> people around here. We have some hot arguments at times, I guess, but it doesn't carry over anywhere else as far as I know.

Further, teachers claim to engage in comparable interaction with the building principal, where discussions about ideas and practices may lead to fierce debates.

> T: . . . he'll stand and bellow at you, you know, and you bellow back at him, or if you're feeling meek you quietly steal away and sneak up on him some other day with the same problem.

Teachers value and practice "commitment" of time, work, and mutual encouragement. "Commitment" is a word that stands out in the talk of teachers at Westlake, both because so many teachers use it and because we encountered it so rarely in other schools. By commitment, teachers appear to mean 1) a demonstrated willingness to take a serious look at any new idea if it's presented as benefitting kids (a connection to teaching and learning is the criterion); 2) a demonstrated willingness to invest time and energy in trying out a promising idea, even if the investment is substantial; and 3) a demonstrated willingness to abide by majority decision when group support is called for.

Teachers credit the principal with taking teachers' professionalism seriously. Teachers find evidence in a range of the principal's actions that professional behavior is expected, valued, approved, and rewarded. First, a stance toward professionalism has been reflected in his hiring and firing practices. In hiring the newest member of the faculty, the principal specified in the job posting that the person must be trained in or be willing to train in mastery learning, and would be expected to sign the same statement of commitment to inservice that the rest of the staff had already signed. In managing a reduction-in-force several years ago, the principal worked to eliminate the two teachers who had refused to participate in a collective effort to prepare the new reading program for implementation. That is, a teacher's demonstrated investment in improvement is one basis for the evaluation of performance at Westlake. Teachers to whom these actions were visible commented that "helping teachers who try and getting rid of teachers who don't builds respect in a faculty." While teachers acknowledge that the present union contract limits the power of a building principal to get rid of "uncommitted" and "unprofessional" teachers, they still expect that the allocation of rewards (both tangible and intangible) will reflect the principal's support of professional behavior.

Second, teachers report that the principal has a history of "spending time on education," of "giving suggestions that work," and of arranging time, materials and other support for teachers who want to try new ideas.

And third, the principal demonstrates in his own behavior an interest in and commitment to innovation and improvement. He reads recent research and reports on findings in faculty meetings; he seeks inservice training to improve his own performance as principal; he becomes sufficiently knowledgeable about innovations being attempted by teachers to conduct discussions, answer questions, and fairly appraise classroom performance; and he uses faculty meetings to promote discussion and arrive at (not simply announce) decisions. Teachers describe his significance at Westlake this way:

> T: The principal has been the clue to the faculty's ability to work together.
>
> T: When we see the principal work hard, it encourages us to do the same.
>
> T: The principal has to be the mainstay.
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> T: The principal . . . supports the teachers about a thousand percent. He gives teachers the freedom to try things. . . .

Teachers credit external circumstances with making it easier to sustain high quality teaching and schoolwide commitments to innovation and improvement. First, they report that the staff has been relatively stable for many years. Prior to this year's hiring of one new permanent faculty member, the most recent "newcomer" had joined the faculty nine years ago. The principal is in his tenth year at Westlake. While teachers believe the expectation for working together to be more powerful than sheer longevity, they do not underestimate the extent to which the present successes here may be the product of many years' gradual development.

Westlake is considered by its teachers to be a neighborhood school, relatively untouched by busing. Its student population in September 1979 was 56 percent white, or Anglo, 34 percent hispanic, 4 percent black, 5 percent oriental, and 2 percent Indian. A few new Laotian and Vietnamese children are reflective of recent immigration to this city. Their numbers are sufficient to raise teachers' interest in teaching to the non-English speaking, yet not so great as to have the status of a "problem." The families whose children attend Westlake are predominantly working class, and parents are viewed as "supportive" even if they may not have the resources to maintain books or newspapers in the home, or the time--with two working parents--to spend with their children on schoolwork. Despite this generally favorable description, teachers observe that in the last ten years they have witnessed increasing mobility among families (64 percent turnover in 1978-79) and more evidence of unstable living situations. Westlake is not immune from the difficulties of urban living, and the teachers here simply echo teachers throughout the city in their laments about trying to teach students who may be here today and gone tomorrow, or who may be distracted by personal worries. At least one teacher remarked that the combination of "open communication" in the building and a long-term reliance on staff development helped teachers who were having increasingly to take the place of the home.

III. LEARNING ON THE JOB

INTRODUCTION

Staff development is part of the job at Westlake; it comes with the territory. Teachers participate in workshops, classes, inservice meetings and conferences; they report to each other informally in the lounge and more formally in faculty meeting on what they're learning; they describe their efforts to apply new ideas in the classroom. In the mastery learning project, teachers as a group have set about learning and applying a set of ideas that constitute an entire approach to planning, preparation, teaching, and evaluating progress. In all of their accounts, but most clearly in description of the mastery learning project, teachers portray "learning on the job" in the following ways:

> Teachers' involvements in formal and informal learning are *current and continuous*. Learning and adapting new ideas or practices is not reserved for teachers struggling through the first year or two of teaching, but is expected of all teachers regardless of years' experience.
>
> Teachers' involvements in learning, and specifically in staff development programs, have been *collective and collegial*. Although teachers believe they have the autonomy to try out and judge new ideas as individuals, they also believe that for ideas of sufficient promise and complexity, commitment as a group is reasonable. Such group participation enables people to undertake lengthy periods of learning and implementation without fear of failure and with active support from others.
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> The nature and extent of teachers' learning has *changed over time*. With respect to mastery learning, teachers report an emerging substantive understanding; they become more familiar with the ideas and more skilled in applying them in talk and in practice. They describe an ever more realistic and sophisticated strategic understanding; they have become better at anticipating the limits and possibilities of adaptation, and the limits and possibilities of staff development. And finally, they experience changes in the relationships among teachers or between teachers and principal; teachers have become increasingly more likely to take the initiative in designing and conducting staff development and in proposing future program priorities.

> Staff development has been *consequential;* in the eyes of teachers, it has made a difference. Teachers report that student performance has improved, that student behavior is less an issue, and that students are more interested, confident classroom participants. Teachers say that they themselves are more consistent and more confident in their teaching, and more collegial in their relations with each other and the principal.
>
> Teachers seek (and agree to) staff development that is a *complement to classroom practice.* In matters of theory, the offerings of staff development have been persuasive where they have matched teachers' own knowledge of the complexity of teaching and learning. In matters of practice, teachers have endured the most challenging, demanding, exhausting training when assured that classroom practice and adaptation were integral parts of the program.

Staff development at Westlake School, then, has proved a complex set of interactions and relationships that go well beyond simply taking a class or attending a workshop and that call for the collaborative participation of teachers, principal and outside consultants. Though nominally aimed at improving teachers' technical proficiency and effectiveness, staff development has also apparently helped to shape and confirm a set of social relationships that give this school a particular character as a workplace.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT AT WESTLAKE SCHOOL IS CURRENT AND CONTINUOUS: TEACHERS LEARN ALL THE TIME

Prevailing expectations among teachers (and shared with the principal) are that teachers will continue to pay close heed to present classroom practice and its effects, that they will seek out and judge new ideas, and that they will learn and (if necessary) struggle with new practice. While some teachers are more aggressive in voicing and enacting these expectations than others, the general view is widespread: learning is the province of all teachers, experienced and inexperienced. One teacher with more than twenty years' experience mused that if she had known in her first five years of teaching what she had learned in the last five years, she might have been spared "a lot of frustration." A teacher who described her undergraduate preparation as relatively thorough and who has been teaching many years still praised the current staff development involvement, saying that it has "refreshed my memory, brought it all back, so I emphasize it a lot more now." Other teachers comment along similar lines:

> T: You've continually got to be reinforced this way. You hear this 'burnt out' bullshit all over and it's true. It's easy to stagnate and that's where staff development comes in.

T: It's sad when teachers quit learning.

T: I like having observers in the classroom because I often learn something.

Among the 382 summary statements about learning on the job drawn from teacher interviews, 374, or 97 percent, describe present involvements and anticipated future involvements.[1] Of these, fifty-three, or 14 percent, describe interactions by which teachers learn from or with each other; an additional thirty-one (8 percent) describe comparable interactions between teachers and the principal. Over 40 percent are descriptions of teachers' participation in formal programs of staff development ranging from mastery learning to involvement in other long-term, intensive staff development, to attendance at university classes and occasional workshops.

Current involvements may conceivably be the subject of praise or complaint; by calculating the balance between favorable and unfavorable statements about staff development involvement, we create a rough ground on which to judge the relative stability of involvement and the prospects for future influence. Simply, are people satisfied with their immersion in "learning on the job," or would they prefer to shed those demands and expectations?

Descriptions are of four general types: first, there are those descriptions that are presented as "the way things are, fortunately." They are occasions of learning, formal and informal, that persons approve of and find useful as part of the teaching experience. Of the 382 summary descriptions, 288, or 75 percent, are of this sort.

Second, there are stories about situations and interactions present or past that are viewed with disfavor. Such comments are recognizable as complaints or laments: "the way things are [or were] unfortunately." Altogether, forty-nine critical comments make up 13 percent of all the summary descriptions of staff development experiences. Of these, only a very few can be interpreted as direct criticisms of the performance of some person or group. The remaining statements refer to *situational* dilemmas:

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[1] These descriptions contrast with those presented in several other buildings, where teachers' reports of influential and useful interactions with other teachers were predominantly reports of early socialization into teaching (getting through the first two years), and where reports of interactions with administrators were confined either to illustrations of early advice or descriptions of a generally "supportive" administrative setting. In the remaining two elementary schools, for example, teachers' reports of involvements as *beginning* teachers make up 25 percent and 27 percent of the descriptive statements about learning on the job.

to the problems faced by new teachers entering a situation in which a complex and demanding program has been underway for several years; or to the difficulties of sorting out implementation stages when everyone, including the instructor, is struggling with implementation; or to the inevitable tradeoffs between time spent in inservice sessions and time spent in planning and preparation or directly in the classroom.

Third, teachers described interactions or situations that they thought desirable and appropriate but have not encountered. For Westlake teachers, such descriptions constitute 10 percent of the total and tend to focus on preferences for subsequent staff development--preferences that teachers have every reason to believe can be enacted. Specifically, teachers report that their competence in mastery learning is sufficient to warrant a shift in the nature and frequency of inservice sessions, moving toward a situation in which meetings would be less frequent and more likely to be designed and conducted by teachers.

And finally, teachers report a small group of "taboo" practices (2 percent of all statements) that they would disapprove if encountered; these include staff development forced on an unwilling faculty, and complaints by faculty members who have already agreed to award a serious trial to some program or idea.

In all, 85 percent of teachers' recorded statements convey a favorable view of staff development and the more general experience of and expectations for learning on the job; the remaining "unfavorable" comments are confined almost entirely to observations about realistic and possibly inevitable limits on what staff development can accomplish.

TEACHERS' INVOLVEMENT IN STAFF DEVELOPMENT IS COLLECTIVE AND COLLEGIAL

Learning at Westlake arises out of collegiality: teachers describe collective discussion of new ideas, collective commitment to (some) programs, collective participation in implementation, collective judgments of progress. (Even when only one person takes a course or attends a workshop, it is likely to be the subject of conversation among a broader group of teachers. In one instance, a teacher undergoing training in the instruction of non-English speaking children was reporting to a group in the lounge on the use of "jazz chants" to teach patterns of intonation in English. When she finished, a second teacher asked, "Will you teach me?")

In particular during the last four years, mastery learning has taken hold through the combined and strenuous efforts of an entire faculty, the principal and a small number of district consultants who are housed in the district and have been paid with district and federal ESAA funds.

Teachers' Collective Involvement

Teachers view the commitment of the entire faculty as critical to the project's success after four years. Although the original pilot project design required only a 75 percent commitment from teachers in pilot schools, faculty members here believe it would not have worked as well under those conditions. With only two classes at each grade level, a less than total commitment might have left some teachers attempting new and difficult ideas virtually alone.

Looking back on the original decision to participate, a teacher recalls:

> T: Four years ago, when we were deciding about this, the whole staff sat down and talked about it. It was put to a vote. . . . We voted as a faculty and it's been great. Not everyone goes along wholeheartedly but everyone would have to admit they've learned something.

While celebrating the unanimity of agreement to participate, teachers are not blind to differences in enthusiasm or interest. Some of the "selling points" of the mastery project, including graduate credit, satisfaction of requirements for court-ordered inservice, and a district promise to leave the staff intact, no doubt helped to win acquiescence from those less willing. Yet in the face of a compelling case,[1] teachers at Westlake display an allegiance to a principle of majority rule. If the faculty as a group commits to trying a new program or idea, all members are expected to award it a fair trial; under these circumstances, the notion of "critical mass" assumes a dimension of organized *influence* that goes beyond a matter of simple numbers. Teachers describe it this way:

> T: I'm not enough of a dreamer to think you're going to get a whole faculty behind something without a little coercion, a little polite coercion. And if you don't do that you don't ever have any growth in your faculty. You always have some people who are willing to try anything new, rather wholeheartedly; some who have some reservations and will go along; and then some who don't want to do it. But, you know, I think if you're going to have faculty involvement, the way to go is the way we went, which was you vote for it and majority rules and that's it.

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[1] The strength of the principal's interest in an idea or program is one cue to teachers. One teacher reports, "the principal felt very strongly . . ." and another teacher recalls, "He said, 'If we're really interested in kids' learning, we need to be looking at this.'"

> T: I think there's some people that have their apprehensions about it. We're all different. But it was a staff commitment and even the people that might have expressed some concern or whatnot at various times, they still did fulfill their commitment, which I think means a lot because some people, in the middle of something, they start this bellyaching stuff or they start creating a negative atmosphere and then you start having . . . factions here and there. That didn't happen.

A teacher who describes herself as having been "indecisive" about wanting to participate in the beginning adds:

> T: We did resent sometimes the time involved but I don't think there was any time we said, "Hey, let's get out of it." . . . We stayed together as a unit.

Schoolwide commitment to a three-year venture in training, classroom implementation, and collaborative work among teachers, principal and district consultants is similarly protrayed by the principal as a cornerstone of the mastery learning project. He recalls:

> P: One of the parts of the proposal, as I remember it, was that [staff development] had asked for a seventy-five percent commitment on the part of the staff. And we had a hundred. We were the only school that had a hundred percent.

Like the teachers, however, Mr. Roberts also recalls some variation in the degree of interest and enthusiasm displayed by individual teachers and attributes the emerging agreement partly to his own stance and partly to the power of interested teachers to recruit others:

> P: I told the faculty that I'm willing to be involved if you are. I'm willing to spend the time, I'm willing to commit myself.

> P: Well, I think probably the key to it, as much as anything, as much as my willingness and commitment, was I think there were several on the faculty who felt very strongly that the things we had been doing were good, were constructive . . . and were looking for more opportunities to continue . . . for additional growth, more gains. . . . And they were able to draw additional support from the other teachers who were maybe a little more reluctant.

The commitment originally made in faculty meeting was confirmed after an afternoon presentation by the staff development coordinator.

P: We had an opportunity . . . the five schools that were selected had an opportunity to meet one entire afternoon with [the coordinator]. And she discussed with them in detail the proposal, the amount of time and commitment that it would take. And they had a chance again at that time, at that point, if they wanted to, to withdraw. And there was one school that did withdraw . . . because they didn't have the support of the faculty.

In recalling the initial stages of commitment, the principal's account is in agreement with teachers' accounts, with the single exception that teachers were more likely to observe that the preliminary presentations were inadequate--inevitably so--to prepare them for the actual amount of time and work that they subsequently invested.

As they judge the progress of four years, teachers place considerable weight on the set of conditions created by their initial collective commitment:

T: The cohesiveness of the group kept us at it.

T: It worked in part because everybody did it.

T: I think that it would be a disadvantage not to have the whole school behind the project. . . . I don't see how a few people . . . in one school can have much impact on the whole school.

Collective participation generates, then, a set of circumstances that in substantial ways support teachers as they try out new practices. Working closely with others eased some of the burden of preparation by making possible a division of labor within grade levels; teachers at the same grade level worked together in designing, preparing, revising, and testing curriculum units.

T: We all had our units, and would do the examples, etc. to fit the units. I worked together with [another second grade teacher], took a unit and as we progressed through each [mastery learning] lesson we would add to our unit. Sometimes we had to go back and revise what we'd done because we moved too fast.

Viewing the effort as a *school* venture legitimated some of the floundering of the first year.

T: I had to get familiar with mastery learning first before I could apply it. At first the concept seemed so "long" to me I couldn't see why it would work. . . . I couldn't just fall into mastery learning. . . . I don't know how long they expect it [to take]. Maybe six months is too long but that's what it has taken me.

THE NATURE OF TEACHERS' INVOLVEMENT WITH STAFF DEVELOPMENT CHANGES OVER TIME

At the time of our observations, teachers were nearing the end of a fourth year as a mastery learning pilot school. In their review of the four years, teachers detailed an emerging substantive understanding of mastery learning principles, an emerging strategic grasp of workable implementation, and a shifting set of role relationships among teachers, principal and outside consultants. In the words of one teacher, success was "not just something that happens overnight."

Emerging Substantive Understanding

By design, teachers were introduced to the core ideas of mastery learning in stages. Each of the weekly inservice meetings was organized to present a small element of the overall mastery approach, and to offer an immediate chance for teachers to practice. Ideas that were "overwhelming" when first encountered were less so after the first year: "The second year it was a little easier and the third year even easier." Cumulative understanding and confidence were built in several ways:

New ideas were introduced in stages, over time. Any single inservice session of forty-five minutes to one hour was used to introduce one element of theory or practice. Even though teachers grew admittedly weary of weekly meetings, they view those meetings (especially in the first two years) as contributors to their grasp of the ideas and methods of mastery learning. Over two and three years, teachers developed a command of the ideas and vocabulary of mastery learning that now enables them to anticipate and discuss future work and possible new problems. One teacher commented:

> T: You couldn't do it otherwise. . . . You have to get far enough into it to see the advantage.

Opportunities to practice new ideas were built into the agenda for each inservice session. Written work prepared in the course of inservice (e.g., curriculum units) was checked by the district consultant or the principal for evidence that teachers understood the principles and methods.

> T: Every day we'd have a different lesson and then we'd have to . . . do something on that lesson.

> T: . . . we practiced a lot.

By organizing inservice sessions in this fashion, inservice instructors conveyed their concern for clear ties between theory and practice:

T: When we were starting, first we got the theory. Then we wrote units.

T: Whenever a basic idea was presented, people would ask, "Now, how are we going to apply this?"

Expectations for application in the classroom were made progressively more stringent. The first year's inservice program was designed to require the preparation of a single mastery learning unit during the first semester, in preparation for classroom trial during the second semester. Preparation of the unit forced teachers to come to terms immediately and practically with translating ideas into practice, but delayed exposure to the actual classroom situation until there was some sort of "script" in hand upon which teachers could rely.

T: Mastery units were horrendous headaches to prepare at first. Everyone was new. . . .

T: The training requires that teachers do some work. We turned in homework.

T: It's difficult at first because it's complex.

Similarly, in the first year examples and curriculum units were organized around applications in mathematics, on the ground that mastery learning principles and methods were most clearly evident there. (E.g., in math, the analysis of prerequisite and component skills needed to achieve an instructional objective is relatively straightforward.) Only in the second year were teachers encouraged to take on more complex and diffuse curriculum areas, including affective education. By the second year, teachers report that they were preparing more complex units more quickly and with less revision. One teacher recalls, "By the time I'd done two units step by step I was more convinced." As teachers have gained understanding and confidence, they have expanded the range of curriculum areas in which they attempt mastery units.

Practical applications were supported by provision of written materials (handouts). Inservice "lessons" in mastery learning were summarized in handout materials that teachers accumulated in notebooks and that they used for reference in designing lesson plans and entire curriculum units.

T: We have notebooks for all the mastery learning materials so we can go back and review because it takes review.

T: You use the notebook 'til you're sure of yourself. . . .

T: [In the first year] I couldn't do it without referring to notes. . . .

Teachers' understanding of ideas and methods was confirmed and strengthened by classroom observation. Beginning in the first year, and with increasing frequency during the second and third years, teachers were observed in class by the principal and the district consultant. In each instance, teachers were told precisely what the observer would be looking for in the visit. Observers took notes during the visit which they subsequently shared with the teacher during a conference. According to teachers, observation was made less stressful by known and shared expectations for what constituted a "good job," by observers' tendency to emphasize accomplishments during conferences, and by the practice of scheduling observations frequently enough to witness progress and continuity.

Inservice lessons were organized in the second and third years to combine review with the introduction of new material. On the assumption that a single presentation of an idea would not suffice to guide teachers' practice, the district office and principals accommodated review work in later-stage sessions.

> T: We also used the second year to review some of the concepts and skills that had been covered quickly the first year.

Teachers typically found the review aspects helpful in the second year, though some teachers at least found similar efforts at review "repetitious and boring" by the third year.

Thus, inservice instruction was itself designed to promote a gradual and enduring command of a set of ideas, a vocabulary and a repertoire of interactions in the classroom.

Emerging Strategic Understanding

Teachers discovered over time how to adapt the ideas and methods of mastery learning to the existing district curriculum, to differences in children's cognitive development across grade levels, and to the realities of daily classroom interaction. The "theory," for all its apparent complexity, was found to be eminently practical. Even so, the practical virtues were not always apparent at first as teachers struggled with classroom applications. One teacher summarized, "It took a while to learn to use mastery learning in the classroom." By teachers' accounts, the collaboration between the school and staff development, and the decision to undertake the program as a group, operated to sustain involvement over a long enough period for "practicality" to be demonstrated. Some teachers' first classroom encounters with a mastery learning unit, for example, went somewhat less than smoothly. One teacher reports that her first unit was far too comprehensive and too long, and that children got bored. One might imagine that under those circumstances a teacher would be tempted to abandon the attempt, declaring, 'I tried it and it didn't work.' Yet this teacher, looking back, emphasizes that she "learned a good lesson" from the mistakes of the first unit.

Certain features of the mastery learning experiment appear to have acted to expand not only teachers' understanding and confidence, but also their willingness to *persist* long enough to witness the effects of new practice.[1] By teachers' accounts, these are the important features:

A view (supported by organizational arrangements) that time would be required for persons to gain competence in new ideas and practices. One teacher likened learning new teaching practices to learning to play an instrument. The effort was portrayed as a three-year venture, with both instruction and observation designed to underscore the gradual and cumulative implementation of ideas over the full three-year period.

> T: We spent the first year proving it to ourselves.
>
> T: It took a while--not that they moved too fast but that it was all new material.
>
> T: I don't know how long they expect. Maybe six months is too long [to get familiar with the ideas] but that is what it has taken me.
>
> T: It was a little easier in the second year and even easier in the third.

In framing up advice for other schools interested in trying the approach, a teacher emphasized:

> T: Give yourself *time to see it work*. You'll be frustrated at first because it will seem overwhelming. If you'll go step by step and give it at least six months, give it a chance, and don't take shortcuts . . . then you'll be convinced. If it's implemented correctly, you'll see results. And with results, you'll get confidence.

An understanding that demands for accountability would be matched by rigor of training. The demanding schedule of regular weekly inservice, the demonstrable commitment of time and energy by the principal and district consultant, the provision of written materials to guide teachers all served as evidence to teachers that in exchange for their commitment, they would be helped to succeed, not set up for failure. One teacher commented, "You couldn't get out until you knew what you were doing." That is, the inservice was designed to encourage and assist teachers to take implementation seriously, to work hard and long at it.

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[1] The temporary staff--semester replacement teachers--who expressed some difficulty in applying mastery learning and who tended to find the ideas and terms "foreign," had not been exposed to practices that promoted a cumulative grasp of ideas and practice. They were less confident, less clear, and less persistent.

The collective effort to learn and implement promising ideas. One teacher reports that it was "the cohesiveness of the group" that kept teachers working, even when discouraged or simply tired of the pressing schedule of classes and meetings. A difficult and complex set of ideas appears to have greater prospects for serious trial in the classroom where a group commitment can be managed.

Teachers were permitted and even encouraged to adapt the ideas to match their classroom circumstances. Those facets of routine school life that ordinarily might have served as reasons for failing to implement mastery learning became instead the specific facets around which practice was organized. Teachers found they had to set priorities within and among curriculum areas when deciding what units to prepare. The units themselves were time consuming to design, research, and write; they were time consuming to test in the classroom. By focusing on those core concept and skill areas required at each grade level, teachers could plan a sequential development of units over a period of years. Teachers came to rely on pretests for cues about when and to what extent to employ a full mastery unit. They also found they could apply parts of units, or could apply mastery principles in classroom instruction on a daily basis even when no unit had been formally prepared.

Teachers worked day by day in a building whose principal expected application of the new ideas in class, who visited classes to observe those practices, and who took commitment to innovation into account in evaluation of teachers. By virtue of the inservice training, he was also a principal increasingly knowledgeable about the intended practices, increasingly able to see how teachers were faring in their attempts to translate theory into practice.

In recounting the history of a four-year effort, teachers present a picture of expanded understanding, competence and confidence; in so doing, they also reveal their perceptions of the *conditions* under which such growth can occur. These appear to be conditions required for emerging *support*; implicit in teachers' advice to interested other schools is the recognition that in the absence of such favorable conditions, emerging *resistance* or indifference may be the more likely outcome.

Emerging Role Relationships

From the beginning, the mastery learning project was built on a collaborative agreement among teachers, principal and district.

Yet as teachers' competence and confidence in mastery learning grew, the nature of the collaboration also changed.

The first year. In early stages of the project, virtually everyone was new, though district consultants' greater familiarity with the underlying ideas and their responsibility for preparing instructional materials gave some credibility to their position as "instructor." Teachers and principal together were learners in the first year. Teachers attended inservice classes, researched and wrote curriculum units, tried out the new practices in class, and were subject to the critiques of the district consultant and, later, the principal. At this stage, teachers did not describe or anticipate any changes in their roles as teachers, even while they looked forward to greater effectiveness in the classroom. Even the practice of working together on units was not foreign--such interaction was an accepted part of work practice for teachers at Westlake before the mastery learning project. They were in the position of "recipient," listening to and practicing and asking questions about a new body of material.

Similarly, the principal attended inservice sessions led by the district consultant. In this instance, however, a shift in the role of principal was specifically intended. In training the principals, the district expected not only that they would offer credible and useful support for the project in their buildings, but also that they would take over from the district the role of instructor in inservice sessions with teachers. (It was exactly this expectation that dissuaded several otherwise interested principals from pursuing the pilot project.) Persuaded by his reading of the RAND Corporation's study of school change, to which he had been introduced by the district's coordinator of staff development, Mr. Roberts willingly participated in the principals' sessions and gradually assumed the position of instructor in the weekly building sessions. (While there is some disagreement about just when this occurred, several teachers remember that first year sessions were conducted almost exclusively by the district consultant, with the principal taking over in the second and third years.)

In the first year, then, the major patterns of interaction were these:

(1) C - - - - - - - - → P

Consultant trains principal.

T: He goes early in the morning on Tuesdays and learns what he's supposed to present to us on Wednesday mornings.

(2)
$$\begin{tikzcd} C \arrow[r, dashed] & TT \arrow[d, leftrightarrow] \\ & TT \end{tikzcd}$$

Consultant trains teachers, who in turn work together on practice.

T: In the first year, Susan taught most of the sessions.

T: When we were learning about mastery and developing our first units, Susan would review them to see if we'd left out any steps.

In each of these cases, the arrow represents more than a one-way flow of information; rather, it represents a set of rights and obligations that mark boundaries of roles and role relationships. In the first year, the consultant had the obligation to present the new material in a way that it could be put in practice by teachers or principal, the right to observe practice, and to advise and critique; the teachers and principal in turn had the obligation to try the ideas out in practice, and the right to ask questions and request help. In the first year, then, the roles and relationships were shaped along traditional and familiar lines, with a knowledgeable expert introducing new ideas and assisting in their implementation.

The second year. The major change in the second year, according to teachers, was in the nature of the principal's participation. Mr. Roberts is described as taking over the instruction in the morning inservice meetings, as conducting more classroom observation, and engaging in more conferences with teachers. The district consultant continued to be a frequent observer in the building, and continued to attend inservice sessions. Thus, the central patterns of interaction in the second year can be portrayed this way:

(1) $C \dashrightarrow P$

The district consultant continues to teach the principal. The principal continues to attend inservice sessions out of the building, in preparation for conducting comparable sessions with teachers in the building. (Although the district consultant observed the principal in practice, our interviews don't reveal whether teachers believe she also critiqued his performance in the same way that she critiqued teachers' classroom performance.)

(2)
$$\begin{tikzcd} P \arrow[r, dashed] & TT \arrow[d, leftrightarrow] \\ & TT \end{tikzcd}$$

The principal now instructs teachers, observes them in classroom practice, critiques their performance in conferences, and gives advice about mastery units. In the comments of the teachers, it appears that the principal and consultant are viewed as a *team* of instructors, either of whom appropriately presents ideas, observes and critiques performance, and offers advice.

The aim of making the principal a resource person in the building (a term and a role equivalent to that of the district consultant) appears to have been achieved in the eyes of the teachers--at least with respect to interactions with teachers. They are cognizant of some of the ways in which the principal's role and consultant's role differ, e.g., that the principal is still being taught by the consultant, and that the district designs and prepares the materials used by the principal in inservice sessions.

(3)
$$\begin{tikzcd} C \arrow[r, dashed] & TT \arrow[d, leftrightarrow] \\ & TT \end{tikzcd}$$

The consultant continues to teach on occasion, and remains a source of materials and advice. The principal has not displaced the consultant by engaging in more consultant-like behavior. Nonetheless, the aim of having the principal be a "resource person" calls for a gradual realignment of roles on the part of the principal and consultant as the principal gains competence and confidence. In this instance, teachers were also conscious of the intended role shift; had those roles *not* shifted by the second year (e.g., had the district consultant continued to run the inservices for teachers), her actions might have been interpreted as a comment on the competence or commitment of the principal. Thus, the *ability* of the consultant to conduct inservices--the substantive knowledge and the experience that make her a credible instructor in the first year--is, over time, of less import than are shared views of *appropriateness:* who appropriately engages in what kind of interaction, with whom, for what purposes, and with what consequences.

At stake in the plan to make the principal a "resource person" are basic ideas of what it means "to be the principal." Mr. Roberts' experience demonstrates attention both to issues of *substantive* competence (his command over a set of ideas and practices) and *role* competence (his and the teachers' view that it is right for the principal to act as a resource person).

By the third and fourth years, the general success of the pilot project wrought some additional changes in the roles of teachers and principal. As the project became more widely known and celebrated, the principal was sought as a speaker in and out of the district; the "principal as consultant" role began to extend out of the building. With teachers' increasing command over mastery learning, they were more and more called upon to explain or demonstrate mastery learning to teachers from other schools (including visitors from out of state). Teachers were thus cast in the position of formally teaching other teachers, first "outsiders" and finally each other. In the last year of the project, a team of Westlake teachers has designed and conducted a workshop on "extension materials" for other teachers. The instructors are paid for conducting the workshop, and participating teachers can arrange for graduate credit.

> T: With the extension workshop it's different--teachers are conducting it.

Just as the principal attended inservices outside the building to prepare him for instructing teachers, so teachers now leave the building to work with district consultants in preparation for teaching each other. At least some of the role prerogatives of the principal and consultant are now, in the last two years of the project, the province of teachers as well. Teachers instruct each other, critique written work, and offer advice. (The right to observe in class, hold conferences and critique classroom performance, however, remains, to our knowledge, the work of the principal or consultant. While we did get reports that a special education teacher routinely--and comfortably--observes the regular classroom teachers, we have no reports of *routine* "observation-and-conference" interactions among other teachers.) In addition, teachers anticipating a course of staff development for the coming year anticipated a more central role for teachers in the design and conduct of inservice; they view their situation as one in which, drawing on their learning, they are now competent to proceed more on their own.

At the time of our observations, teachers were nearing the end of four years of mastery learning. As teachers came to feel comfortable with the ideas and confident about practice of mastery learning in the classroom, their interest in formal inservice sessions waned.[1]

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[1] Teachers continue to value and participate in formal staff development to assist them with *new* situations and new ideas. They merely observe that they no longer require the same degree of formal assistance with mastery learning.

> T: I think we're beginning to get a little tired of the formal staff development/mastery learning business. It takes a lot of planning and meeting time and now we're feeling we could use the time better in the classroom.

Several teachers commented that it had become a habit, a way of thinking about new situations and a way of handling a classroom whether or not one was using a specific mastery learning "unit." One teacher said it had been "imprinted." Teachers voiced interest in moving on to design and conduct their own workshops, meetings, and inservices; sessions conducted by others that were once viewed as legitimate review were now beginning to seem repetitious and were more likely to be viewed as competing with planning and preparation time. Teachers do continue to envision the roles of principal and district as insuring direction and continuity.

> T: Now, it would require someone and I presume that it would be the boss, Mr. Roberts, kind of to see that things are continuing to flow evenly . . . so it just doesn't die away.

In this last year, then, the principal patterns of interaction have been these:

(1) C - - - - - - - - → P

(2) P - - - - - - - - → TT

(3) C - - - - - - - - → TT

(4) TT - - - - - - - - → TT

INVOLVEMENT WITH STAFF DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN CONSEQUENTIAL; IT HAS MADE A DIFFERENCE FOR TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

Asked how she would make mastery learning persuasive to teachers in other buildings, one teacher remarked simply that she would "point to results." And the results teachers find are both varied and impressive, sufficient to warrant the substantial investment of time and work.

Consequences for Student Performance

Recognizing that a major concern of the district, and an initial interest of participating teachers, was a demonstrable improvement in student achievement, teachers report that scores on standardized tests have risen over the course of the project.

Official data secured from the district for grades two and five, for the years 1977 and 1979, bear out the teachers' claims of progress.[1]

Some gains are more substantial than others. In the table below, we include only scores for math and language arts, since most of the mastery units have been designed for those areas. Teachers are in disagreement about the extent to which the new reading package is consistent with mastery principles, though there were also gains in reading in the 1977-1979 period. In 1977, the school was below the district median for both math and language achievement among second graders. By 1979, second grade scores reflected a modest gain in math (from 17 percent below the district median in 1977 to 12 percent below), and a major gain in language arts (from 11 percent below the median to 24 percent above). Fifth grade scores show relatively stable achievement in language arts (16 percent above the district median in 1977 and 14 percent above in 1979), and marked improvement in math (from 16 percent above the median to 37 percent above).

MEDIAN ACHIEVEMENT SCORES
BY SUBJECT, GRADE LEVEL, AND YEAR

YEAR		GRADE LEVEL			
		SECOND GRADE		FIFTH GRADE	
		Math	Lang. Arts	Math	Lang. Arts
1977	School median	53	51	58	51
	District median	64	57	50	44
1979	School median	65	87	74	67
	District median	74	70	54	59

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[1] Data for 1977 and 1979 were supplied on all schools during the site selection process. As measures of the effects of the mastery learning project, they are illustrative but not conclusive. They do not permit us to sort out the effects of the mastery learning project from other possible sources of influence, and they do not reveal whether the rate of gain is greater now than it was in the years immediately preceding the mastery project.

While standardized test scores have a certain political currency that teachers acknolwedge, they are not the only evidence on which teachers rely to judge the impact of mastery learning. (One teacher complained that the tests themselves are changed too frequently to serve as an evaluation of impact on students.) Nor is academic performance in a narrow sense the only effect that teachers look for and report:

> T: I've seen the performance level improve. Also self-esteem.
>
> T: When I use the units, you can really see the improvement in their skills. . . .
>
> T: Ninety-eight percent of the kids are getting the skills. . . .
>
> T: Kids have more sense of being a participant. They appear more interested, and seem able to communicate with parents more about school.
>
> T: Discipline problems have gone down. . . .
>
> T: There are signs that students are learning more and are more interested.

Consequences for Teachers' Performance in Class

Teachers claim that mastery learning has changed their feeling about teaching, giving them a greater sense of influence and reward.

> T: I'm not sure the way I taught before made the kids responsible or accountable either. Now they know I'm looking for results.
>
> T: Mastery learning has made teaching easier, even though preparation is twice as hard.
>
> T: I'm having more influence on these kids than I used to. I'm not cynical or burned out--just tired some days.
>
> T: Mastery learning teaches you how to approach it when a kid is having a problem.
>
> T: Teaching is more rewarding--it's more challenging.

Teachers also describe specific changes in teaching practices that give them greater command in the classroom. In some cases, mastery learning served to confirm existing practice; in some cases mastery learning led to modest changes in existing practice; and in still other cases, mastery learning led to a substantial shift in practice.

T: Mastery learning has changed my teaching. I did teach to objectives, but I didn't break down the work. . . .

T: Following this approach made me aware for the first time how I used to explain a lesson and assume that the kids all understood it. . . .

T: Mastery teaches you to *really* check for understanding, not just say, 'Are there any questions?' Ask, 'What are you going to do first? Next?'

T: Mastery learning forces me to follow through in an organized form. . . .

T: Mastery learning has changed my teaching. Before, I stayed with the teachers' guide. Now I reconstruct.

T: Mastery learning is different from what I was doing before. I got new ideas for explaining concepts, and the notion of using more than one way.

T: Mastery learning made me more aware of what I was doing . . . gave names to some things I was already doing. It made me aware of the order. . . .

T: Mastery learning refreshed my memory, brought it all back and so I emphasize it a lot more now.

T: I've found that mastery learning has changed my teaching. I used to ask a question a couple of times and if there was no answer I'd say, "Oh, forget it," and move on. Now I come back. . . .

T: Mastery learning has . . . made me more aware of the necessity of establishing goals and objectives, more aware of letting the kids know where they are. Used to be that when it was time to teach fractions, I taught adding fractions. . . .

T: What it contributed that other approaches did not was precise means of describing and measuring performance.

T: You don't always realize how you're using mastery learning in everything you teach.

And finally, mastery has changed the extent to which teachers are consciously attentive to classroom tactics:

T: Some days you get lazy and revert to your old-style teaching methods of just kind of coming in and saying, 'O.K., today we're going to do page so-and-so,' or so-and-so, and you're really tired. But all of a sudden

> you realize that you're . . . just blowing it away completely. Then all of a sudden you say, 'O.K., what did I do?' Go back to the mastery lesson format and say, 'Do the kids know what we were doing? Did I make that clear to them? Did I establish any, any motivation at all?' You know. And just automatically the wheels start turning and you kind of pull yourself up short and clean up your act.

Consequences for Teachers' Collegial Relationships

The Westlake faculty is a group with a reported history of "working together." A sense of cohesiveness is not a new accomplishment of the mastery learning project. Nonetheless, the project has affected teachers' views and experiences of collegiality in three ways:

First, teachers have reaped the rewards of their willingness to innovate and experiment. They characterize themselves as open to new ideas; the mastery learning experiment--a demanding and exhausting undertaking by any standards--has confirmed rather than eroded the faculty's stance toward innovation.

Second, teachers who have struggled together to work out a complex set of ideas in practice now find themselves more able to raise and discuss ideas and problems openly:

> T: From a staff development standpoint, I think you have to have open communication for one thing. And that's an easy two words to say but it's a hard thing to be consistent with.
>
> I: How do you do it?
>
> T: Well, when you don't like something, you say something and you say it in such a way that people don't get defensive, but yet they're going to do something themselves. . . .
>
> And you've got to get feedback, I guess, too. But I think it's an attitude that is passed on from the principal on down, as far as getting things done.
>
> I: Can staff development as an organized activity do anything to foster that attitude?
>
> T: Oh, definitely, yeah. . . . Without a doubt. I mean we've done exercises before where . . . you break up into groups and you just talk about a certain kid. For example, the hypothetical situation I was talking about yesterday. And

> I think *just being around each other in a staff development kind of situation* fosters a lot of . . . knowledge of one another or that sort of thing, so that you feel better about each other.

And third, teachers look for more opportunities to learn from and with each other, even to the extent of signing up for workshops taught by peers. The specific contribution of the mastery learning project in this regard is made evident by the comment of one teacher that she would not ordinarily have asked about something being tried by another teacher for fear of seeming "dumb." The complexities of mastery learning, and the time and careful attention required to implement it, may have helped to erode the view that asking (revealing one's ignorance) is dumb.

Teachers also expect to be in a position to teach others. They demonstrate for and talk to teachers from other schools, and they agree to conduct inservice workshops. Yet there remain some boundaries on this aspect of teachers' collegial relationships that create particular dilemmas for new teachers joining the staff. Because the staff (including the principal) expects any new person to adopt the school's commitment to mastery learning, job requirements specify a background in mastery learning or a willingness to be trained in the approach. Release time is arranged for participation in a one-week training session in mastery learning, and a commitment to participate in all current and subsequent in-building inservice is required. And the faculty apply the same informal rule that operates in all the schools we visited: "We tell the new people to ask if they need help." The norm that new teachers learn by asking (and the experienced teachers "intervene" only when asked) is by many accounts of questionable worth, even though it conveys an intent to be friendly and helpful. Teachers tell tales of being new on the job, of not knowing even enough to know what questions to ask, or how to apply advice once received. "Asking for help," under ordinary circumstances--that is, in the absence of any observation and often in the absence of any shared language for describing practice--is likely to prove no help at all.

At Westlake, the practice of encouraging new teachers to "learn by asking" is simply inadequate to pass on an approach as complex as mastery learning. The stories that teachers tell of gradual and cumulative understanding and competence over a three- and four-year span bear witness to the complexity of the task. For the school to sustain its commitment to mastery learning as a shared view of teaching and as shared practice in classrooms, it appears that teachers and principal may have to displace the "learn by asking" rule with one that permits some approximation of the implementation sequence experienced during the four-year pilot project. A major contribution of a more aggressive rule ("learn by letting us teach you") might be to alter the expectation that teachers must ask each other in order to get guidance.

It could displace the widespread understanding that teachers "solve their own problems" and that there's no point in asking another teacher whose experience is the same as yours. Second, such an approach could help to convince a newcomer (faced with an approach that is being implemented throughout the school) to expect slow progress and to be persistent. A change in stance will be most critical for teachers who are new to the building but not to teaching; these teachers bring with them a set of understandings that lead them to ask for help on administrative routines that teachers know distinguish one building from another, but that limit them from asking "how to teach."

Consequences for Teachers' Relationships with Parents

Armed with a more precise view of teaching and learning, teachers find themselves able to hold more satisfactory conversations with parents.

> T: Mastery learning enabled me to give more specific information to parents when a child is having a problem. . . .

> T: I've learned how to interact with parents without making them defensive. . . .

IV. THE PRINCIPAL'S VIEW

INTRODUCTION: SHAPING A VIEW OF THE PRINCIPALSHIP

For the last several years, the leadership that teachers find so important at Westlake School has been consciously and deliberately informed by a perspective on the principalship that places the principal squarely in the middle of school improvement and change activities. Mr. Roberts looks to his reading of the celebrated RAND Corporation "change agent" study as a turning point in his view of the principalship. Four years ago, just prior to the invitation to participate in the mastery learning project, he read the findings of that study and found in the description of the principal's role and in the focus on changed teacher practices an explanation for the failure of the Title I projects which he had supervised for several years in another school.

> P: I think the other thing that has, more recently that influenced my philosophy was the . . . RAND study. . . . I was at Randall School for years. This is a Title I school, it's down in the inner city, surrounded by housing projects, and that's all we had. . . . We had programs and people you wouldn't believe. And it did nothing, you know. . . . I was there for four years and,

> and I would say that at the end of the fourth year the results were about the same as what we did the first year I was there. And we tried everything and nothing ever lasted. We'd start a program, somebody would write a proposal. . . . It would be funded, we'd get staff, we'd get equipment, we'd get aides. The kids went right on doing the same things. The achievement changed not one percentage point. . . . You never saw a change in teacher attitude or behavior. I didn't see much change in pupil achievement and attitude and behavior.
>
> Then when the RAND study came along, they were looking at . . . what were the characteristics of programs where there was a change in behavior on the part of the teachers and students, as well as a program that just didn't last during the period of time it was funded but there was a carryover. One of the things that was very obvious was the involvement of the teacher. . . . Of course, to me the one that still sticks out is the involvement of the principal.

As principal of that Title I school, with numerous federally funded programs, Mr. Roberts' involvement had been limited to initial approval of program ideas and some general "coordination" or supervision of project directors. Project-related interactions with teachers appear to have been minimal.

> P: And that director evaluated the program, that director supervised the program, did the ordering of materials, did the observations, did the appraisal--the evaluation of the teacher if it was necessary. It was just a matter of, really, of sort of coordinating everything in the building. You didn't have anything to do.
>
> I: So you didn't really have to be knowledgeable in detail about any of those programs.
>
> P: No.

From a stance that called on the principal only for a loose coordination of federally funded project directors, Mr. Roberts gradually moved at Westlake[1] toward a stance in which he assumed the major role of change agent, requiring command over substantive ideas and tactics for implementation.

> I: So there was a point after you came to this building where you changed your behavior as a principal. Is that right?
>
> P: Right, that's correct.

---

[1] Mr. Roberts is in his tenth year as principal of Westlake School.

The shift has been gradual, and the principal attributes it to several features of his tenure at Westlake:

(1) Coming to this school, Mr. Roberts encountered a community, a student population, and a faculty that were qualitatively different from those he left at the Title I school. Discouraged by repeated failures to produce change in student achievement, and disillusioned about the power of money (federal funds) to make a difference, he found his optimism renewed by groups that "looked on school in a different light." He observes that teachers hold high expectations for student performance and that their expectations are a topic of staff talk. The change in setting apparently stimulated a change in his stance as principal that might have been more difficult to initiate otherwise but which, looking back, Mr. Roberts would still have expected to be effective, *had he attempted it:*

> I: All right, we've got two different circumstances then. Do you think that if you were at Randall now, and applying what you now know about changing teacher behavior, that you could make a difference to those kids?
>
> P: Oh, I don't think there's any doubt about it.
>
> I: You think you could.
>
> P: The teacher is the one that's going to have to change.

(2) A set of external changes in the district, beginning with the passage of state legislation governing the conditions under which students could be excluded from regular classrooms, placed the school staff in the position of seeking assistance outside:

> P: . . . the teacher had to learn and become skillful in handling special youngsters in the regular classroom . . . that's as I understood House Bill 1164. And that was the beginning of our involvement, O.K.? . . . That was the beginning and we were actually forced by legislation to get involved, and the faculty did.

Convinced that they were increasingly likely to be faced with "special" students in their classrooms, teachers at Westlake also wrote a proposal that included them in a second year of voluntary inservice as an entire school.

> P: And if you were interested in being involved then you had to write a proposal saying that your building was interested in being involved in what at that time they called the "Intensive School Plan." And our faculty did, and so there was some additional inservice available to us the second year under House Bill 1164. . . .

I: What was the incentive to be one of the intensive school sites?

P: I think it was primarily more understanding of the process of working with youngsters in a regular classroom, because . . . more and more of these youngsters were going to be assigned.[1]

The nature of the school's involvement in the Intensive School Plan differed from Mr. Roberts' previous experience with Title I projects in two critical respects. First, this schoolwide project called for the preparation of regular classroom teachers to handle special circumstances, rather than funding a group of specially trained teachers to serve in addition to the regular school staff. Second, as part of the commitment to be an intensive site, the principal sat in on the occasional inservice sessions, and retained a copy of the notebook of notes and materials used in those sessions. The school's participation in the Intensive School Plan is viewed by the principal, as by the teachers, as the first instance of a collective reliance on staff development as a means of improving teachers' effectiveness and students' performance.

(3) In the view of the principal, the district's experience with the Intensive School Plan, together with some of the early case study literature on school change, served to redirect district thinking about the appropriate focus and mode of staff development.

P: . . . then they started looking at teacher behavior.

Increasingly, staff development offerings created a set of circumstances in which support from a building principal was relevant and in which participation of the principal was invited and encouraged. In the CARE (Commitment and Responsive Education) program, the district sought teams of teachers from each participating school with the intent that teachers at each grade level would in turn train their colleagues. The CARE program placed some new demands on the principal by this focus on changed teacher behavior and by its strategy of organizational change through teacher peer influence.

P: Now in CARE I was, in addition to going through the regular training with the teachers, there was some additional training that the principals had in what Madeline Hunter calls "clinical supervision." And those teachers that had CARE, our job was to work with them and to do some observing and using the techniques we had learned . . . anecdotal records. . . .

---

[1] In fact, Westlake School is the assigned site for visually handicapped students (including some completely blind children) and for autistic and autistic-like children. The former are mainstreamed in regular classrooms. The latter may be encountered throughout the building, but are taught in a single self-contained classroom.

I: So you were doing the followup in the classroom after this initial training.

P: That's right. That's right. So I actually got started in CARE, in getting involved with the teachers in the classroom.

The CARE training prepared principals for classroom observation by establishing a procedure organized around written anecdotal records, in which exact words and actions of teachers and students were recorded as faithfully as possible. The training entailed several days' work combining videotapes for practice in constructing anecdotal records and role-playing for practice in managing teacher conferences.

P: We spent two or three days doing nothing but viewing tapes and writing. And then discussing what we saw, and role-playing with each other with one being the teacher, the other the principal. So we had a lot of work along that line.

Staff of the district's CARE project also observed in classrooms, their presence apparently confirming the promise to teachers that classroom observations were intended as help and not as a part of teacher appraisal. By getting into classrooms on the footing of a consultant, not an evaluator, Mr. Roberts made a substantial change in his behavior as principal, and lay the groundwork for an altered set of interactions with teachers.[1]

P: It used to be, if you walked in and started taking notes--well, you were afraid to because immediately the teacher throws up because you're writing down all the things that are wrong.

P: I doubt until . . . really the beginning of our staff development program here, which was before, really before mastery learning and it was before RAND, I doubt that I got into a classroom very often.

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[1] The principal's illustrations (not shown here) of *how* conferences are conducted convey how the *intent* to make observation helpful and comfortable must be *confirmed by the actions* of the principal both in the classroom and in the conference. The simple statement that teachers "should see observation as helpful" is likely to prove unpersuasive until teachers actually experience observations and conferences that play as promised.

By 1976, when the mastery learning program was initiated, Mr. Roberts had expanded his view and practice of "being a principal" in several ways. He had come to view the "sponsorship" or "support" of school improvement less as a matter of supplemental, separate programs and more centrally as a matter of training for all permanent staff. He had begun to participate in inservice programs in ways that made him substantively knowledgeable about school program ideas, instead of only administratively knowledgeable. And he had changed the frequency and nature of his interactions with teachers by beginning to observe regularly in classrooms in the capacity of advisor.

Under these circumstances, the more stringent requirements of the mastery learning pilot project (including the expectation that principals would conduct inservice sessions for teachers) represented for Mr. Roberts less of a departure in view or in practice than they may have represented for other principals.[1] Over a five-year period *prior* to the mastery learning project, he had been increasingly engaging in actions that could be viewed as assisting or promoting change (rather than merely approving or permitting it). Immediately prior to the mastery learning project, he encountered the RAND study, the findings of which legitimated a view of the principalship as a catalyst for change and confirm the importance of collective, collegial involvement of teachers in innovation.

The pilot project in mastery learning was designed precisely to enroll the principal as an agent of change:

> P: Well, as I remember, when we met with [the staff development coordinator] four years ago and she talked about this, she mentioned the fact that when the principal gets involved, it isn't just a matter of sitting through the inservice with the faculty and participating that way. Your involvement had to be a lot deeper and . . . there was a lot of training and background that went into it, even before you began working with the faculty. . . . There were a number of principals that showed an interest until

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[1] The reluctance of some principals to participate in the mastery learning project is readily understandable in light of Mr. Roberts' experience. To those principals for whom the provisions of the pilot project represented radical departures from a present view of the principalship and present practices on the job, the demands may have seemed unrealistic. Mr. Roberts' success in the project may be less a consequence of good will and "interest" than a consequence of a specific set of circumstances that permitted him safely to practice an expanded role as change agent in more modest ways before encountering the mastery learning project.

> she made that statement and then it kind of cleared the field, really and truly. She was looking for five schools and she almost didn't get five schools because there were not five people who were willing. Because she was very, very clear about the amount of time it was going to take. As I look back on that first year, it did.

The gradual development of the principal's role is summarized in Figure 1, page 40.

THE PRINCIPAL'S VIEW OF THE TEACHERS' ROLE

Three features of the teachers' work at Westlake, as described by the principal, prepared the staff to be receptive to (even enthusiastic about) participation in intensive programs of staff development and long-term trial of new ideas and practices. First, Mr. Roberts found the staff to be "tight-knit," a group interested in working with each other and with the principal:

> P: I sense a better relationship with them than I have with other faculties, a feeling of wanting to work together. They might all have a different way or an idea of what they might do, but I think they are interested in working together. I've never had groups go off. We've been a very tight-knit group for a number of years.

Second, the faculty had in previous years engaged in three projects requiring a collective commitment to inservice (though not requiring the same intensive commitment to classroom implementation called for in the mastery learning project). Teachers had participated as a group in the second year of inservice under House Bill 1164, and had sent teams of teachers to be trained in the instructional approach fostered by Madeline Hunter (under the CARE program) and in techniques of "precision teaching." Eventually, all teachers in the building arranged to participate in the CARE inservices; teachers trained in precision teaching arranged to teach others and to demonstrate in classrooms.

> P: . . . they had what was called CARE--Commitment and Responsive Education. Faculties could begin to volunteer to participate and the inservice there was changing the teacher. . . . It was a pullout program. In other words, if you could get a team of teachers, one at every grade level, that team could be pulled out for a two-week period of time for eight, ten days of intensive inservice. They used a lot of Madeline Hunter's material.

> P: At that time, again, the teachers were enthusiastic and wanted more. . . . The grade levels had to choose because everybody wanted to go. So we did send a team . . . over a period of almost two years, every teacher was trained in CARE.

FIGURE I

AN EMERGING ROLE OF PRINCIPAL AS CHANGE AGENT

Time Period	Nature of Principal's Behavior	Role "Image"
1960s	"Coordination" of Title I projects --approve ideas --proposal preparation --negotiation of funds --general supervision of project directors	Principal as "gatekeeper"
1973-74	Participant in collective inservice in response to House Bill 1164 --approve ideas --prepare proposal --participate in (sit in on) teacher training	↓
1974-75	Participant in inservice; observer of teachers CARE program --approve idea --approve teacher release time --sit in on teacher training --attend principal training --observe teachers in classroom --hold conferences with teachers	↓
1975-76	Precision teaching --approve teacher-initiated idea --approve release time for team of teachers --encourage trained teachers to train others --sit in on training ("sharing") session conducted by returning teachers	↓
1976-	Mastery learning: instructor/consultant/ "resource person" --approve and promote idea --seek group commitment to inservice --attend principal training --attend teacher training --conduct teacher training --attend teacher-conducted training as participant --observe and critique classroom performance --rearrange schedules to permit joint work among teachers --arrange release time for more teacher inservice --report relevant research to teachers --encourage teachers to serve as consultants to other schools	Principal as change agent

P: . . . the year before we were involved in mastery learning . . . the special ed department had done some screening in the schools with precision teaching and we, our staff, saw what came out of that . . . and so they started asking questions . . . and we sent a team of teachers, one from each grade level.

Third, teachers at Westlake were accustomed to teaching each other ideas and techniques learned outside the building. The practice of learning from and with each other was accepted prior to the mastery learning project.

P: Then they, in turn, came back and the rest of the faculty was trained [in precision teaching].

I: By them?

P: By them.

I: So very early on you had a history of people in the building teaching other people in the building about new stuff.

P: Yes.

I: O.K.

P: And it continues. We still have two resource people . . . in precision teaching. Once a month they have an inservice and they pull out for that and then they come back and share that with us.

In the eyes of the principal, then, teachers here have viewed collective commitment, shared work, and continual training (formal and informal) as part of "being a teacher" (or more specifically, being a teacher here, at *this* school). For the teachers, as for the principal, the specific requirements of the mastery learning project represented less of a radical departure than it did an *extension* of current views and practices.

THE MASTERY LEARNING PROJECT

The central *ideas* of mastery learning--the theory--and the staff development *strategy* by which those ideas came to be introduced and tested are awarded equal weight in the principal's account of recent successes at Westlake. In this respect, and in all accounts of the operation of the mastery learning project over four years, his accounts are in accord with those of teachers. With respect to the collaboration between the school and district consultants, however, the principal's account reveals aspects of the project that were less visible to teachers. That is, the principal reports specific interactions in partnership with the district consultant that served to establish project direction and continuity and that strengthened the principal's ability to support teachers.

First, principals of the pilot project schools worked with the district consultant to establish a sequence of activities each year:

> P: Each year we would sit down and "what are the things we have to work on. . . ." The principals spent many hours working with Susan, planning our calendar for the year. We revised it many times during the year but at least we had an idea of where we were going and our target date. We wanted to be at a certain point by the end of January so that the teachers . . . were ready to teach . . . their mastery unit would have been developed by the end of first semester as a result of these inservice meetings. . . .
>
> P: In fact, that was one of our objectives of the total staff development, was that by second semester each teacher would have a written mastery learning unit for his or her classroom and would be teaching that unit by second semester.

Second, principals and consultant together established a program (curriculum) focus each year. In the first year, the focus was on cognitive learning, and teachers were encouraged to develop units in math:

> P: We had a choice and we chose math because we felt the objectives were very specific and clear and it was a good way to start. . . .

Focus was established in part to accomplish substantive project goals and in part to narrow the boundaries of what was attempted each year and thus to keep the single district consultant from being spread too thin.

> P: Now the five principals would get together with her, of course, and try to narrow it down so that we weren't all going off in too many directions.
>
> I: How did you do that? How did you narrow it?
>
> P: I think mainly a lot of brainstorming, ideas that we thought were important and . . . narrowing them down to ones we could handle in a certain period of time.

Third, the principal-consultant partners found themselves in the position of sustaining project direction while responding to district demands and pressures. In the second year, for example, the team responded to what it viewed as district pressure to pursue improvement in human relations by training teachers in affective education. The team accordingly designed a sequence of mastery learning inservices around affective education topics and encouraged (but did not require) teachers to prepare units in affective skills.

> P: We found the affective area a difficult area to work in. . . . I think we probably were kind of forced into it. . . . We were at that time getting a lot of pressure from the court. . . .

Despite certain district commitments to support the mastery pilot projects from disruption (e.g., a promise to leave staff intact), there are apparently some district pressures from which no school can be protected. The effectiveness of a principal in sustaining a program of the scale and complexity represented in the mastery learning project may ride on the ability to find in those district "pressures" some aims that are commensurate with those of the project.

> P: . . . but at the same time I think we were also thinking, well, if mastery works so well in the cognitive area we ought to try . . . and see if we can't teach some of the affective skills in a mastery learning situation. I think where it was tried, it was successful.

And finally, the team arrangement between principals and consultant created a forum in which principals could discuss "how it was going," could seek advice, could convey doubts or reservations, could wrestle with theoretical questions, could anticipate teachers' questions, and could sort out solutions to common logistical problems. In one gathering, for example, principals:

> Requested additional help with classroom observation, and suggested team observations with a subsequent comparison of observation notes and interpretations.
>
> Proposed shared interests or directions for the next year, e.g., increased parent involvement in the mastery schools.
>
> Complained that even principals closely involved with staff development found the presentation of staff development offerings in regular principals' meetings confusing. "The agenda doesn't tell you how they tie together."
>
> Watched a district consultant "model" an inservice presentation on cooperative learning, and wrangled over the appropriateness of the ideas:

P: We have not taken this approach before?

C: Yeah, the whole mastery approach. . . .

P: But have we *said* that?

C: No.

P: O.K., I just want to know what ground I'm on. . . .

I'm having some trouble following this. I need some background and preparation. . . .

There's too much emphasis on quizzes [in team learning]. . . .

C: When schools get into mastery, one of the recurring questions is about grading. The teacher knows the kids best. If doing points this way would wipe them out, that's what the teachers would choose to modify.

P: It's pretty clear in the Slavins stuff. We ought to review his manual.

In individual conversations with consultants, Mr. Roberts pursues some of the more difficult issues that have arisen in later stages of the mastery learning project. Some substantive issues (like the assignment of grades in a mastery learning school) remain unresolved, though the partnership offers an opportunity at least to raise and pursue them. On the tactical issue of sustaining teachers' interest and commitment, his discussions have confirmed his present strategies: overt and frequent recognition of teachers' good work, involvement of teachers in decisions about program focus, and passing on to teachers relevant research findings. (If we can use teachers' reports as a guide, these strategies are visible to and approved by the teachers.)

In some respects, interactions between teachers and principals have, over four years, taken on some of the same characteristics and achieved some of the same purposes as interactions between the principals and district consultant. At Westlake, the principal looks more and more to teachers to help determine a focus for subsequent years and to assume some of the inservice instruction chores.

P: But more and more now, some of the other teachers are getting involved. For example, JoAnne and Robin are doing a lot of the demonstration teaching in mastery learning. Ann and George are doing the extension workshop that we're having. . . . Brian and Linda are being trained in English as a second language and will be sharing that. . . .

At precisely the time when it appears that the district's commitment to the building must begin to wane (under mounting pressure to spread the approach to other interested schools), the principal and teachers are demonstrating their capacity internally to continue and to build on the line of work begun four years ago, and to engage in the kind of collegial relations that permit serious grappling with tough issues.

V. SUMMARY

By all accounts, staff development has maintained a substantial and welcome presence at Westlake School. Teachers and principal alike credit it as a source of influence on their teaching and as a contributor to faculty morale. The accomplishments of the mastery learning pilot program at Westlake rest in large part on persons' attention to two distinct but related aspects of school life.

First, staff development has contributed to and strengthened school as a *workplace* for teachers and principal. By virtue of its design it has encouraged collegial work among teachers and between teachers and principal, and it has rewarded teachers' efforts to lend careful attention to practices and their consequences. Three elements of the staff development strategy proved consequential in this regard: a collaborative partnership engaging teachers, principal and district consultants; an agreement for collective (100 percent) involvement in inservice and collective efforts to implement new ideas; and a sequence of activities designed to make the principal an advisor or "resource person" in his own building.

Second, staff development contributed to the technical competence of teachers and principals and thus to the prospects for *student success*. The three-year venture was based on a set of ideas that were complex but promising, and that teachers could view as relevant to their own interests in improved instruction. Further, the program was designed to permit a gradual and evolving command of ideas and practice. A combination of formal inservice training, individual and team preparation outside of class, and observed classroom practice left teachers at the end of the three years claiming that mastery learning was a "habit."

In sum, the experience of Westlake School suggests that staff development can and does exert influence where it takes explicit account of the social organization of schools and where it assumes by its design that the translation of complex ideas into practice is a continuous and cumulative task.

CAREY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION 47

II. LEARNING ON THE JOB: INFORMAL EXPECTATIONS AND FORMAL TRAINING 47

THE SCHOOL AS A CONTEXT FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT 50
  Desegregation and Staff Development 50
  Innovation and Staff Development 51
  "Working Together": Views of Collaboration 53
  Staff Development at Carey 58

CLASSROOM EXPERIENCE AND COLLEGIALITY 67
  Autonomy and Independence are Valued and Practiced 67
  Collegial Interaction among Teachers is Valued but Practiced Only on a Limited Basis 68

III. SUMMARY 74

I. INTRODUCTION

Carey Elementary School has been profoundly touched by desegregation. It was a subject of the original desegregation lawsuit (Keyes vs. School District No. 1); it is now a participant in an arrangement by which elementary schools are paired, with children attending grades one to three at Carey and four to six at a second school; and 43 percent of its children are bused to school from distant neighborhoods. While some faculty members have remained with the school throughout the ten-year desegregation period, others have been transferred as the district has sought to integrate faculties. The principal is in her second year at Carey.

These externally imposed changes, over which teachers exert little influence but whose effects they encounter day to day, are given considerable weight in teachers' descriptions of work here. Though the school was selected as a study site by virtue of its participation in staff development programs, most teachers do not grant to staff development much influence on their classroom practices, their interactions with each other, or their general satisfaction with work. Despite some extensive participation in the last year, despite more recent small-scale efforts, and despite the favorable experiences of a few teachers, staff development has taken little hold here. Teachers' accounts of Carey as a *workplace* and their accounts of staff development (formal and informal) over the past two years suggest why that might be so.

II. LEARNING ON THE JOB: INFORMAL EXPECTATIONS AND FORMAL TRAINING

Over a two-year period, teachers at Carey participated collectively in an eight-day, district-sponsored program of instructional improvement (including classroom followup), attended after-school inservice meetings on a range of topics, attended classes and workshops as individuals, heard presentations in faculty meetings, and, in some cases, were visited in classrooms by a staff development consultant assigned to the school as a resource person. By that description, the level of formal interaction with staff development appears relatively high. In our conversations with teachers and in our observations of their work with students and each other, we sought to discover how these involvements were viewed and what effect they had produced. We also sought teachers' perspectives more broadly on "learning on the job," so that we might judge the extent to which formal involvements coincided with teachers' preferences and daily experiences. These perspectives emerged:

Teachers' involvement in staff development is seen by most teachers here as relatively *inconsequential* in the face of other, more powerful influences. Teachers who accord staff development little role in their work stressed the problems in the classroom created by high turnover (mobility) in the student population, the apparent absence of parental support, and district decisions about curriculum and the allocation of special program monies. (By contrast, three teachers who emphasized ways in which their teaching *had* been shaped by staff development experiences made little or no mention of dilemmas posed by external circumstances.)

For most teachers at Carey, learning on the job has been *periodic* and occasional, prompted most typically by new or unfamiliar situations and aimed at simple "survival." Asked about learning on (and for) the job, teachers here offer their most detailed descriptions and graphic images when reporting their first year or two on the job, or when describing the turmoil that accompanied early stages of desegregation. Of the thirteen teachers, only one reports a constant immersion in reading, discussion with teachers in other buildings, and the use of professional days for observation as informal means of improving her own teaching; three other teachers seek out and selectively participate in long-term, "intensive" programs of staff development outside the building.

Teachers have no choice but to learn by experience and to test learning against day-to-day classroom realities. Their involvement in staff development has been most satisfactory where it has been a *complement to classroom practice,* and least attractive or satisfactory where it has taken time from a crowded schedule for a one-time presentation on a topic remote from daily experience.

Teachers report that they do learn and prefer to learn in interaction with *colleagues.* They nonetheless portray a prevailing expectation for independence, a view that teachers inevitably will and should learn on their own in classrooms. There is no uniform, collective view of or involvement in staff development as part of work here. Further, teachers describe the bulk of inservice occasions in the building as limiting or precluding collaborative work among teachers or as failing in the attempt to cultivate collegial relationships between teachers and outside consultants.

The accounts that teachers offer are in many respects portraits in ambivalence and contrast. With few exceptions, teachers voice preferences that are unmatched by their current experience. *Preferences* for learning on the job are bound up in a view of learning that is collegial, that reflects the interests and questions born of classroom practice, and that is supported by such routine organizational arrangements as scheduling. *Practices* are often reported to be individual or only nominally collegial,[1] to reflect the interests and priorities of others, to have unclear application to classroom practice, and to take insufficient account of existing organizational arrangements. Of the 203 summary descriptions of "learning on the job" drawn from interviews with thirteen teachers, only ninety-seven, or 48 percent, characterize situations that teachers approve *and* that they have actually encountered in their work. An additional sixty-two, or 31 percent, of the statements characterize ineffective instances of staff development or outline circumstances that impede learning on the job.[2] One quarter of these comments report the difficulties of early entry into the job; the remainder characterize the current work situation in the building and district.[3] *On the whole, the high level of formal involvement is not reflective of teachers' attraction to staff development, their commitment to application in classrooms, or their belief in its effects.*

Judging by teachers' accounts of day-to-day work at Carey, and by their accounts of learning on the job (past and present), the prospects for staff development to exert influence in a building are bound up with two related issues: the degree to which attempts to improve classroom practice gain support from routine organizational arrangements, and the degree to which such attempts engage teachers as professional colleagues. The review that follows stresses precisely those issues in reporting teachers' views, their recent experiences with staff development, and their portrayal of Carey as a workplace.

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[1] They require group attendance or group agreements to participate in a program, but do not require or produce collegial interaction over the course of classroom implementation.

[2] The remaining observations characterize arrangements and situations that some teachers admire and approve but have not so far encountered at Carey or elsewhere (16 percent), and situations that they believe are in some respect "taboo" (6 percent). The former comments dwell on opportunities for teachers to use time together to reflect on their work and their shared problems, to plan together, and to observe others teach; the latter comments place restrictions on precisely these activities by making out such activities as observation to be problematic.

[3] Some individual teachers at Carey are consistently more favorable or more unfavorable in their reports than others. One teacher, for example, is almost uniformly enthusiastic about the contributions of staff development and is impatient only with two-hour topical presentations. Another feels staff development has had "a pretty good role" in her development. But another teacher's response to the phrase "staff development" was "bomb it." On balance, however, there is a *pattern* of comments that contrasts with that in two other elementary schools; in one, teachers' favorable descriptions of existing staff development situations accounted for 75 percent of all summary statements; in a second school, they accounted for 64 percent.

THE SCHOOL AS A CONTEXT FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT

There is no substitute, according to teachers, for learning by experience. Yet in their view there are some arrangements, some school circumstances, that make learning by experience more fruitful, more enduring, and more satisfying than others. Three circumstances of work at Carey have combined in recent years to diminish the value that most teachers here place on formal staff development and to erode any prospects that it might exert influence. First, teachers remember the early stages of desegregation as a time when there was little or no help in meeting considerable pressure and uncertainty; thus, there is no history here of reliance on staff development to help manage difficult circumstances. Second, teachers have come in the last two years to associate staff development with increased administrative pressures to do more (e.g., add more programs to the curriculum) with fewer resources. And third, teachers characterize a work situation in which collaborative work among teachers is rare; except for occasional advice or an exchange of materials, teachers here work alone and learn alone.

Desegregation and Staff Development

The early stages of desegregation at Carey were days of turmoil for children, teachers, parents, and administrators. Teachers describe angry parents and bickering children:

> T: And those children that came to [Williams School] were rather frightened because, they said, 'those rich people over there.' And the people that came over here felt like they were slumming. So there was a great deal of fighting and bickering. And the kids were always complaining. . . . So there was a very negative feeling about it.

> T: [Parents were] belligerent, extremely angry. They'd been put upon, they didn't like it.

Managing day-to-day conflicts among students was made more difficult by difficulties teachers faced in merging the faculties of the two paired schools:

> T: And then the faculties were saying, 'those Carey teachers, all they do is sit in the lounge and complain how hard they're working and here we are all in our rooms getting our materials and everything ready.' And the Carey teachers,

> I found when I came over here and became one of them: 'those snooty Williams people over there, they just think that just because they have wealthier children, why . . .' you know, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah.

Teachers report that staff development might have contributed to more open discussion in a newly integrated faculty, and to greater confidence in dealing with diverse children. Yet at a time when the need for help was pressing, teachers believe they were thrown on their own resources. Teachers who successfully negotiated the massive social and organizational dislocation wrought by desegregation did so alone.

> T: Well, as far as giving help for the rapid changes that have happened within the last five years, there has been very little. I think it's more a case of piling on and see how much you can take.

Innovation and Staff Development

Teachers' interest in new ideas or practices is discouraged when any display of curiosity or enthusiasm is met by arrangements for a formal program.

> T: The teachers here are a little bit hesitant to call staff development to have them come out because I think they're sort of afraid that we're going to get another new program stuffed down our throats, because that's generally what happens. You know, you call staff . . . You yell for help, like the science resource team, and all of a sudden you've got the SCIS program. It's not that it's not needed, but it's a bit much too soon, I think.
>
> I: What do you mean, "a bit much too soon"?
>
> T: You know, a lot of new things to do all at once, to learn about all at once. If you could take one and digest it and get fairly comfortable with it, and then go on to the next, it'd be great. But like for instance the first grade teachers have three new programs: they've got a new reading program, they've got a new science program, they've got this new affective program. All at once.

Where any show of curiosity by one or a few teachers leads to demands placed on all, "innovation" in effect jeopardizes faculty relations. One person's interest becomes everybody's schedule crunch. Thus, attempts by the principal to support improved teaching, to encourage the use of staff development and demonstrate its responsiveness to teachers' interests inadvertently and unintentionally operate to make teachers reluctant innovators. In turn, by their reluctance they build and confirm a view of themselves as disinterested, unmotivated, and uncommitted.[1]

In truth, there are some teachers who are discouraged, who would prefer to transfer or to retire from teaching altogether. Asked how she manages to accommodate the range of diverse children in her classroom, one experienced teacher mused:

> T: I'm not, I'm not accommodating. This, this is one of the things that bothers me--that I don't seem to be adapting to the children, I seem to be resisting more than adapting. And this is bad.

The great majority of teachers here, however, continue to award close attention to their work, to wonder what works and why, and to distinguish (at least to themselves) their strengths from their weaknesses and their successes from their failures. Most can point to some area of classroom work that they would like to explore or strengthen:

> T: I'd like a teacher to help me with, right now with setting up maybe a social studies unit for the entire year, because we don't have a text in the first grade.

By teachers' accounts, it appears that there are some grounds on which staff development could establish its relevance at Carey; teachers value a good job and approve efforts to improve teaching. Four of thirteen teachers, acting on their own, rely extensively on resources offered through staff development to improve their own knowledge and competence. They characterize their views and experience this way:

> T: I think it's had a pretty good role, yeah. It's helped me learn to gather all of the nebulous parts of my teaching and put them into a cohesive kind of a unit so that I, as I said, can plan and I can make goals for myself so that I can see where I'm going with this instead of just teaching a variety of say, in subject matter, of supposedly unrelated things, to see how they all can just gel into a

---

[1] One teacher adds that routine district arrangements, such as the scheduled hours for the professional library, also make it difficult for teachers to demonstrate and fulfill any commitment to improved teaching in the ordinary course of the work week. "We have zillions of resources available to us," she claims. "We have no time to get there, though. That's the trouble."

> unit. So I think staff development has played a very great part in that.

> T: I couldn't single out one, say, here I spent two hours and listened to some staff development program because to me two hours just wouldn't do it. So . . . but I could single out some [continuous] programs that I've been through that I thought helped me grow as a teacher.

> T: Oh, I think the teacher should participate because, I don't know, to me anything you can learn is good. . . .

> T: You know, I need continual training.

Yet neither the experience of these four, nor the more informal but equally systematic improvement efforts of at least one other teacher, has proved powerful in generating a widely shared and supported expectation that staff development be a valued part of work life at Carey. In the eyes of many of the teachers here, the value that they place on improved teaching is in competition with the organizational demands they encounter day to day.

"Working Together": Views of Collaboration

Teachers describe occasions that have influenced their teaching as in some respect collaborative. They have learned from or with other teachers, administrators, or consultants in situations in which all were viewed and treated as professionals with common interests.

Looking back to their first year or two of teaching, teachers contrast those situations on which they were left alone to resolve problems with situations in which some other person or persons lent assistance in the form of materials, advice, a critique of classroom performance, discussion of methods, demonstration lessons and general moral support.

> T: I had a coordinating teacher who came maybe once a week, maybe twice a week. She would either observe--usually she did observe. She would teach if I was blowing it somewhere. We'd have conferences, we'd talk about it. She would get materials for me that I needed. I had two really outstanding coordinators.

Collaborative arrangements with outside "coordinators" had some undeniable strengths: it was legitimate for the coordinator to give advice and criticism in ways that teachers on the same faculty might have found awkward; the coordinator was not in a position to conduct formal evaluation of the teacher and presumably did not report to the principal; and both teacher's questions and coordinator's advice could be tied to immediate and observable classroom practice. Yet one teacher observes, "even having the coordinator once a week was not really enough for a beginning teacher." Teachers recall that they turned to other teachers to ask questions, and now claim that they, in turn, encourage new teachers: "Ask me. I'm here. Is there anything I can do for you?"[1] For these teachers, collaborative arrangements with others have constituted a model of professional interaction that supports improved practice and that enhances teacher satisfaction.

For many teachers, however, learning by experience has proved something of an isolated venture; some describe with some regret those occasions where they were left to "sink or swim," or on which they were in some way denied the status of a colleague.

> T: The way I learned was by doing it. When I was student teaching, the teacher just left me alone. She watched me for about six times and then she just left me alone. And I student taught for three months and it was frightening.

As a new teacher in a recently desegregated southern school, one teacher found the formal "buddy" arrangement less than helpful when it was systematically sabotaged in informal interaction:

> T: You paired off with another teacher and that teacher would be your helping teacher. . . . The one that was assigned to me would not help me . . . and I had to go outside to get ideas. [She] would say things: "Well, you went to school just like I did. Go use some of those ideas."

In a similar situation, a first-year teacher found herself assigned to be the third member of a three-person team of which the other two members were experienced teachers and old friends. Systematically excluded by the two experienced teachers, she found herself peering over the top of room partitions in an effort to learn their approach.

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[1] The main issue here is the value placed by teachers on *collaboration* as a contributor to learning on the job. Nonetheless, teachers' accounts of asking advice from other teachers have led us to believe that teachers who ask will more often gain sympathy, moral support, or confirmation of shared difficulties than they will gain specifically useful advice. There appear to be three issues at stake: one is the degree to which a profession as complex as teaching can be learned in an "ask me" fashion; the second is the degree to which new teachers recognize appropriate questions in the first place; and the third is the degree to which faculty members systematically and subtly encourage or discourage serious discussion of classroom practice.

Actual, observable classroom practice is the main ground on which successful collaboration rests; to isolated classroom experience, collaboration adds the opportunity for discussion and reflection. On the whole, teachers' views accord with the observation made by one teacher that "getting stuck in the classroom all the time does not tend to make you grow." Another teacher includes among the major influences on her teaching "observation and discussions with other teachers." Yet another reports that a curriculum workshop in which she worked as part of a team with other teachers was "one of the best things I attended." An arrangement in another building by which a special education teacher used faculty meeting time on a regular basis for discussing and demonstrating techniques that could be adapted for use in the regular classroom was described as "fantastic." Regularly scheduled teacher workdays, reportedly a feature of a neighboring district, are viewed with some envy by one teacher who sees in such occasions the opportunity for shared work on curriculum and classroom technique. "Those are the times," she claims, "that make you grow."

Several teachers voiced a preference for using the time presently allocated for inservice meetings or routine faculty meetings for more collective work, particularly among teachers on the same grade level. That is, greater collegial interaction in the building is favored as a way of strengthening classroom performance and the overall school program. Envisioning collaborative arrangements with *outside* resource people, teachers stressed shared work in the classroom. While acknowledging that an outside observer simply "can see things that I can't," teachers also foresaw something of a partnership in teaching and in trying new ideas.

T: I don't think the person will feel near as threatened if the resource person comes in and realizes the fact that the teacher is having some kind of a problem and help him to get that class settled, or to work with him to deal with that class. If that resource person will make herself another teacher in the building, in the classroom, instead of a resource person. . . . You know, don't just sit back there and write dumb notes, you know, and come back and say, 'You didn't do thus and thus. . . .'

I: O.K. . . . suppose you got to train this person . . . tell them what role they would play in the school. What would it be?

T: I think teachers really need help with: 'Hey, I'll come in and do this for you; I'll show you how to do this; you know, is there some area that you've always wanted to try but you've never had time to do it? You know, hey, I'll come in and I'll get this off the ground for you. You know, I'll show you . . . so you won't get your feet too wet.' There are a lot of things that we've always wanted to try

> and have not had the opportunity or the know-how to do it. And I'm sure that . . . we're intelligent enough it would only take one shot.

In several respects, the role favored by teachers for an outside resource person is directly parallel to the role performed by coordinators in assisting beginning teachers. Demonstration and observation are expected; critiques are permitted. There are nevertheless some important differences. As neophytes, teachers apparently subscribe to a view of collaboration in which experienced teachers have the right to initiate topics or focus for shared work, to provide critiques and to demonstrate good performance; they have the obligation to be properly "helpful" in one fashion or another, and to provide help without placing new teachers in jeopardy (e.g., by reporting to the principal). Inexperienced teachers have the right, in turn, to ask questions or make requests and the parallel obligation to take advice seriously. The "collaboration" has many of the features of an apprenticeship, including the assumption that one party is substantially more knowledgeable and skilled than the other. The apprenticeship mode is favored by teachers as an alternative to a "sink or swim" struggle for sheer survival.

With gains in experience, however, teachers' expectations for professional interaction change. They expect collaboration with others to assume more clearly the shape of a partnership than an apprenticeship, and appear to judge their experiences with staff development (or with colleagues generally) accordingly. They expect staff development to reflect the assumption that participating teachers have knowledge and skill comparable to, or at least complementary to, staff development consultants; they expect to find their experienced credited. Complaints arise when inservice consultants appear to treat teachers as somehow deficient.

> T: We had a group come through . . . floating in and out of our room, smiling, feeling so smug with themselves; they were bringing culture to us.

At best, teachers seek a hand in initiating, designing and conducting a line of work aimed at strengthening their own performance or improving school conditions:

> T: . . . like the [needs assessment] meeting that you saw, I didn't feel that that was really successful because, you know, we're writing these little chart paper things and we're putting them up on the wall and nobody really cares because everybody sitting around there feels that nothing is going to be done with them. Nothing. . . .
>
> You know, and it's just futile, just a waste of time. Now, if we took that time and sat around and talked about gee, how can we plan this and how can we plan that, and

the heck with whatever they think, then, then we're going to get somewhere.

T: I think there should be a variety of inservices. For instance, maybe first grade wants something different than second or third, and we should be able to help with the planning of it: what we want--do we want tapes, do we want something on IMC, do we want, or. . . . I'd like to have our IMC person tell us what we've got up there.

I: In-building inservices.

T: Yeah. And from each other. . . . We're getting kids from them, I'd like to know what Georgia does with them in math. How far does she think she's going to take them? What games is she going to use? What's she going to do with them?

I: O.K. Now, that's of interest here because you. . . . A few minutes ago we were talking about discussions among faculty and you said there isn't much of that and there seems to be a . . .

T: There's a need for it.

I: . . . a norm that says, no, no, you don't ask.

T: Mm-hm. Mm-hm.

I: Could in-building inservices start to break that down?

T: It could if we planned it. And we'd like to do it without the administrator.

I: Just teachers planning the inservices and take your inservice. . . .

T: Yeah. We're bright. . . . But we don't have to have it pushed onto us, see. After all, we're prepared. And there's still this old, old thing that we have to [be] led all the time. We're capable of leading.

At the least, teachers expect to engage in staff development selectively and voluntarily.[1] A teacher who credits himself with being "very selective" in his use of staff development, but who also claims to use ideas and methods learned through staff development "constantly, every day," describes the experience this way:

> T: I've been through a lot of inservice training that's been provided by the district . . . but not on a crisis basis. . . . I didn't rush up to someone and say, 'I've got to have help.' I mean I would look around at things being offered and things that I was interested in.

In sum, teachers envision (and in some cases recall from their own experience) an array of collegial relationships that are supported by routine organizational arrangements (e.g., appropriate scheduling), that encourage or at least permit frank discussion of practice, and that bring certain personal rewards in the form of expanded competence and greater confidence. *To the extent that staff development experiences are able to foster precisely these collaborative relations, they may have prospects for influencing both individual classroom practice and the nature and extent of professional interactions in the school.*

Staff Development at Carey

According to teachers at Carey, they are most likely to seek opportunities--both formal and informal--to expand their knowledge and improve their practice where there is some promise that they will be seen and treated "as professionals." The relative indifference (or outright contempt) with which many teachers here view inservice education appears to ride directly on the matter of support for innovation and collegiality. In the past two years, two separate inservice arrangements have presented opportunities that have, to a greater or lesser extent, gone awry.

An Instructional Improvement Program. First, teachers made a collective agreement to participate in an eight-day "pullout" program of staff development that addressed itself broadly to theories and strategies of instruction and classroom management based on the ideas and writings of Madeline Hunter. By asking for group commitments from faculties, the organizers of the staff development program recognized that implementation of new ideas is more likely where a "critical mass" of teachers is knowledgeable about the ideas, competent in practicing them, and supportive of their use in a building. Designers of the program further acknowledged that practice in a classroom presents an entirely different set of conditions and demands than does simulated practice, so they arranged for classroom followup to participating teachers. Assuming that teachers found the ideas persuasive and practicable, the collective participation and subsequent assistance were intended to constitute powerful supports to actual practice. In fact, few of the ideas and methods stressed in the staff development program are in wide use in Carey classrooms less than one year later. Three teachers (one of whom learned the approach elsewhere) make extensive use of the ideas and methods, but their practice is not broadly visible to their peers. (Teachers in a grade level meeting exhibited considerable surprise when, in response to an interviewer's question, a teacher claimed to use the ideas "constantly.")

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[1] The court-ordered, mandatory inservice in human relations that all district teachers must log each year flies in the face of teachers' expectations about being treated professionally, and thus represents something of a dilemma both for district and teachers. In addition, teachers' professional expectations along this line create tactical problems for principals who, in accordance with their view of their own professional rights and obligations, feel on occasion compelled to insist that one or more teachers seek assistance.

Other teachers make limited use of isolated tactics, though their success with those tactics does not seem to have led them to adopt incrementally other ideas and methods presented at the same time. Typically teachers found that when they actually tried one of the ideas, it worked.

> T: . . . one lady that was there had some excellent ideas for centers, and self-checking materials, and I tried them all--well, all the ones that I made--and they all work.

Persuasiveness of the ideas aside, the limited "hold" that these ideas and methods have at Carey may be attributable in part to the actual (rather than intended) nature of collective participation and classroom assistance. Although teachers made an agreement to participate in inservice, they report no comparable agreement to award any serious trial to the ideas and methods they encountered, no arrangement for collective discussion of progress, no collective understanding that the evaluation of their classroom performance would in any way be bound up with demonstrated willingness to apply the ideas in practice. By teachers' accounts, there was in fact nothing to distinguish this particular inservice from numerous other inservice presentations except its length and the release time arrangement it offered teachers. Teachers report nothing about the original agreement that would lead them to believe that application was anything but a matter of individual preference.[1] Their collective *initiation* of a project was not viewed as a commitment to collective *implementation* at all subsequent stages. Had the nature of the expected collective commitment been clear to teachers at the time the agreement was sought, it is of course conceivable that teachers would have opted not to participate. For some, the added requirements would undoubtedly have placed a demand they were unwilling to meet. One teacher claimed that a major virtue of the program was simply that it got the teachers out of the building for several days.[2] Nonetheless, assuming that agreement had been reached, it might have laid the ground for some practical arrangements promoting shared work among teachers in the building. For example, it might have served as the rationale for converting subsequent faculty or inservice or grade level meetings into work sessions of the sort apparently favored by teachers here.

What the collective agreement failed to generate by way of collaboration and by way of a shared investment in trying out new practice might subsequently have been fostered by the staff development resource person in the course of classroom followup. Three factors combined to diminish that possibility. First, the teachers' training took place sufficiently late in the school year that the assigned resource person was able to allot only minimal amounts of time to classroom visits. No teacher was visited more than once, and then briefly. The sheer *frequency* of interaction between teachers and resource person was apparently too low to build an agreement about implementation, to give teachers any view of progress, or to build any credible collaborative relationship.

Second, the resource person, in an apparent effort to build trust with teachers, focused on existing strengths and maintained a passive stance as classroom observer. One teacher, claiming she would now prefer to make no use at all of a resource person, recalled:

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[1] Certainly the collective agreement to participate was intended by those who sought it to imply some sort of collective interest in implementation. Staff development personnel are explicit on this point, and the building principal hoped that by introducing the program only after she received some evidence of enthusiasm from a faculty member she would build on faculty initiative. She may have overestimated either the influence of the enthusiastic teacher or the degree to which one teacher's enthusiasm is readily communicated to others.

[2] Her comment raises the issue of teachers' motivation in participating in inservice. While the celebrated RAND study of school change argues that teachers' perceptions of the district's motives in initiating a program can determine their involvement, it may also be true that the best-designed of programs will founder where teachers are driven by other overriding interests. In a declining enrollment district, teachers may participate primarily to accumulate the "points" they believe will secure their jobs.

> T: [He] came in, sat down, wrote down everything I said and then we talked about it. And that was it. That was it. I mean, it was interesting to find out what I said . . . but there was no, nothing. That was it. You know, he said, "You're doing a great job." He did, you know, he complimented me and . . . O.K., that's nice to hear, since you never hear it.

In the eyes of at least one teacher, the resource person missed an opportunity to convey that careful scrutiny of practice was taken seriously and to pursue aggressively the implementation of a set of ideas that teachers had spent eight days discussing. (The fact that other teachers failed to describe the followup visit at all is perhaps further evidence of its relative irrelevance to subsequent classroom practice.)

Contrasting the interactions between consultant and teachers at Carey with those she herself had engaged in in a similar consulting capacity, the building principal offers this view of the resource consultant role:

> P: I really feel that it's important for the staff development person to go right into the school and to stay there. When we did it we spent at least four days a week in the schools. See, I had two schools, so I really didn't spend four days in one building, but I was there almost every day and very regularly. And I think that's necessary.
>
> I: What did you do when you went in?
>
> P: I set up periods for observing teachers, with them, you know, and then I would go in and observe and then I would conference with them and I would say, "O.K., now where do we go from here?" And really, from that conference, plan for the next one, so there was this continuous scheduling. . . . the role really is one of *being helpful*, in terms of implementing the program.

The principal's description raises the third factor bearing upon followup assistance: the respective roles of consultants and building principals in fostering new practice. In a district where staff are fewer and fewer and where money only gets tighter, it is unlikely that consulting resource people will be accorded the luxury of working extensively with one or two schools in the fashion described above. At Carey, the responsibility for followup fell entirely on a resource person whose work spread him thinly over several schools and whose occasional presence could not begin to compete with (or substantially alter) prevailing ways of interacting in the building. Without extensive collaboration between district and buildings, the prospects that innovation and improvement will be fostered may rest on the willingness of building principals to adopt the role of advisor.

By viewing themselves as a team (and acting as a team) in classroom consultation, the consulting resource person and principal might have conveyed to teachers that implementation was taken seriously and might have offered sufficiently frequent and consistent support that teachers were encouraged to apply more of the ideas in practice than they have. By her own account, the principal hesitated to adopt this stance even though she had both the technical competence and the experience to do so.

> I: Do you do any of the same things [as you did when consulting]?
>
> P: No. Hm-mm.
>
> I: Have teachers ever asked?
>
> P: Hm-mm. I think because they see my role as something different.

Here, *clarity* of understanding (knowing what kind of assistance might prove effective) and *ability* to act have been weighed against a view of what constitutes *appropriate* action for a building principal. The issue of appropriateness revolves around the competing demands for teacher *evaluation* (a requirement of the principalship) and *help* (an aspiration of the principalship). In the absence of what she can see as permission or encouragement from teachers to act the part of the classroom advisor, the principal defers to the outside consultant.

> P: I was really sitting back kind of waiting for Don to come in and spend some time and do some things but there just isn't that much time in his schedule either. . . .

Neither her belief that more extensive classroom assistance would prove consequential nor her training in techniques of observation and consultation proved adequate preparation for the principal to begin *acting* in a way that would have marked a considerable departure from her previous interactions with teachers. She routinely and regularly endorses staff development in faculty meetings and advises individual teachers to seek assistance; she makes the administrative arrangements for inservice sessions that reflect either her interests (e.g., in child abuse) or stated interests of teachers (assistance with a science curriculum). In introducing formal inservice sessions, she reiterates her belief that staff development is important. On the whole, her involvements take the form of endorsements--*statements* about the importance of staff development--and do not extend to active participation with teachers in staff development programs. In addition, her obligations to manage "real problems" of day-to-day administration of a school turn out to take precedence over her interest in the continuous improvement of classroom teaching:

> I: How do you decide, say from one week to the next, what to take most seriously by way of assistance--your assistance?
>
> P: Well, I think, you know, there are some things that are real problems and you have to deal with them right away.
>
> I: Such as?
>
> P: When a teacher, for example, comes to you and says, you know, 'I'm having difficulties,' that's one way. Or a telephone call from a parent where there is a problem that. . . . I mean these are the immediate things that you have to look into. . . . O.K. Then there are ongoing kinds of things where you feel like, you know, I need to be working on that but it's not something that you can solve overnight. . . . O.K. Now I think, you know, when you have to work with a teacher for general improvement, that's kind of ongoing; you know, you have to do small things, a little at a time, you know, you just can't go in and say, 'I want it to be all different tomorrow,' you know. So that's an ongoing one. And those are always, they're always there. You know?

In this light, acting the part of a colleague and advisor would represent something of a departure in enactment, if not in *view*, of the principal's role.

Ironically, the principal's view and the teachers' view are not precisely in accord here. Teacher interviews suggest that the principal has greater latitude for observation and consultation in the classroom than she presently exploits. Teachers here typically favored more frequent classroom visits by the principal on the grounds that a more detailed knowledge of actual classroom life would make for fairer evaluation and more help:

> T_1: . . . we're really fortunate because she's a fantastic instructor--she can come in and teach a lesson and model it so well, and teach us how to put our goals and our, you know, objectives and everything so the children know what we're doing. So we've been real fortunate with that and I think principals should be able to do that, you know. They should be approachable, where you can ask them. . . . I feel I can go down there and ask her anything. You know, I don't feel that threat anymore. It had to come with time; you learn that the principal's not down there to get rid of you, but that the principal's here to help me.

T_2: The principal was all over the place [laughs], particularly outside, lunchroom, gym, office, in the halls.

I: Spend much time in classes?

T_2: Unfortunately, no, because there was a lot of discipline that has to be taken care of too, and a lot of outside people fussing about things. . . .

I: You say, "unfortunately, no"--you'd prefer it that a principal were in classrooms?

T_2: Once in a while, sure. Heck! I want them to know what I'm doing. How can they judge me; if they've got to sit down and give me a rating, how can they do if it they don't know what I'm doing?

T_3: And he [principal] would take a walk through the building, and very frequently he would stop in the room and walk around, look at the kids' work, comment on it, and I think it makes a difference to the kids; it made a difference to me. He wasn't there to discipline. He was there to see what was going on. . . . And if there was something that you might want help on, he was there for that too . . . and it created a real neat feeling.

The instructional improvement program in which Carey teachers participated was designed to accomplish two related goals. First, it was designed to strengthen or confirm teachers' knowledge and technical skill in matters of instruction and classroom management. In that respect, it was comparable to any other university or district-sponsored program of inservice education. Second, however, it was intended to initiate and sustain a set of social arrangements--collective participation and consultant followup--that would increase the chances that teachers would apply the ideas and methods in practice. If we can judge by teachers' accounts, this second aim was not readily apparent and was not met. The prevailing patterns of interaction among teachers in the building *prior* to the inservice did not match those required for collective support of new practice, and participation in the inservice program was not sufficient to produce them. The technical worth of the ideas and methods presented in the staff development program remains largely untested.

On the evidence, the absence of a properly conducive set of collaborative relationships in and out of the building diminished the prospects for such a test.[1] Some teachers are more active and consistent implementers than others, but neither the nature and degree of implementation nor the apparent effects on student performance appears to be a topic of conversation among teachers.

A Permanent Resource Person. In fall of 1979, the district's Department of Staff Development assigned to Carey a permanent resource person[2] and in so doing created a second opportunity for collaborative work of the sort favored by teachers here. This second program arrangement, like the first, has had little demonstrable effect on teachers' interest in new ideas or new practices, or on their engagement in collegial work. Unlike the first experience, this one may have inadvertently and unintentionally served to *erode* collegial relations between the teachers and principal and to reduce teachers' interest in subsequent staff development.

An unclear position. It was not clear to anyone, including the Department of Staff Development, what were the possibilities and limits of the resource person role. In interviews, the resource people assigned to buildings declared that their initial interest was in forming a working relationship with a building, and that that interest made it difficult to set priorities in advance or to narrow the boundaries of their proposed work. In forging their entry to buildings, the assigned consultants went first to building principals and offered to "help in any way I can." Their stance thus differed from that of the consultant assigned specifically to assist teachers with the practice of a limited and focused set of ideas. In the absence of clear boundaries or direction, the person most clearly in a position to direct an outsider's involvements at Carey--the principal--took the initiative in requesting a line of work. The kinds of assistance that she requested came to stand as the definition of the resource person's role in the building.

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[1] Other influences may also have played a part, not the least of which are the general persuasiveness of the ideas and methods themselves (in the eyes of the teachers, were they worth implementing?) or the degree to which teachers saw those ideas and methods as any different from their present practice (was there anything to "implement"?). There is some indication, for example, that teachers found some of the suggested approaches inappropriate for elementary school, and that they found others to be simple restatements of old principles already in practice.

[2] Each staff member of the Department of Staff Development was assigned as a permanent resource person to several buildings. The decision to make the assignments came out of the Department's increasing recognition that changes in teachers' practices were more likely where there were opportunities for shared work in classrooms, and more likely where persons could systematically take into account and cultivate support in the building. In addition, staff experiences in the capacity of resource teacher had convinced them of the strategic power of such a role. See the description of Westlake School in this series for an instance where teachers credit that role with substantial influence.

Competing preferences and expectations. As described in interviews, the principal looked to the resource person to accomplish two goals: to renew enthusiasm for the ideas and methods of the instructional improvement program in which the faculty had participated the preceding year; and to "work with" teachers she considered weak in classroom management or instruction. In light of her aspirations for the school, and her obligations as principal, these are equally understandable goals. But they call up competing views of staff development. One goal is built on a view of staff development personnel as professional colleagues acting in concert with teachers to work out the application of worthy ideas; the second goal is built on a view of staff development personnel as experts directing work that takes the form of an apprenticeship and that can easily be interpreted as repairing deficiencies (deficiencies that may be unacknowledged by the teacher in question).

In practice, the second aim took precedence. On his visits to the building, the consultant spent his time primarily "working with" two teachers or talking with the principal. Teachers became convinced that any suggestion that they "work with staff development" was a comment about their competence; the consultant became a "hit man," and references to staff development during faculty meetings became the occasion for sarcastic interchanges.

Our interviews suggest that if teachers had been asked to design a role for the resource person--a line of work that he might participate in over the course of a year--they might have focused on collaborative assistance with projects initiated by teachers for use in classrooms. Entry into classrooms would have been by teacher invitation and the nature of the work would have been jointly decided.

This is not to say that teachers would have elected a course that was demonstrably in line with the approach of the instructional improvement program, or even to predict with any certainty that they would have elected any involvement at all; it is, however, to suggest that there are some distinct parallels between the principal's first aim of "renewed enthusiasm" and the teachers' stated preference for assistance that was properly collegial. As the arrangement worked out in practice, though, it underlined instead the contrasts between teachers' and principal's preferences. As a result, several teachers have found staff development less attractive and are less willing to accord it influence.

CLASSROOM EXPERIENCE AND COLLEGIALITY

There are features of the work situation at Carey, as described by teachers that--apart from the design or intent of any staff development program--place constraints on collegiality. These features appear to have affected the power of staff development to initiate and sustain collaboration among teachers or between teachers and outside resource consultants, and consequently to have limited the degree to which the ideas and methods advocated by staff development are valued and practiced here.

Autonomy and Independence are Valued and Practiced

While teachers look to each other for a certain amount of camaraderie, they frequently conveyed the view that the work of instruction, the resolution of classroom management problems, and the search for new and effective ideas is largely the province of the individual teacher.

> T_1: I don't know, you know teaching to me is really individual so. . . I don't want to depend on anybody. . . .
>
> I: How do you get ideas of what to do?
>
> T_2: My ideas come from my head, right off the top of my head. . . . And then I relate a lot of my childhood experiences and experience that I've had in school.
>
> I: How often do you go to other teachers for ideas . . . ?
>
> T_3: I don't. . . .
>
> I: Where do you turn for help?
>
> T_3: I don't think I've sought any help on that [monitoring students' independent work].
>
> I: Any particular reason . . . ?
>
> T_3: No, I figured it was a problem of mine and I had to figure out how to solve it myself. . . . I don't think I've asked for help, probably because I think I know what should be taking place, it's just not happening.

By this view, judgments about teachers' competence are bound up at least partly in expectations for independence and autonomy; teachers are expected to be able to work alone. These expectations compete with preferences for collaborative work.

Collegial Interaction Among Teachers is Valued but Practiced Only on a Limited Basis

At one time or another in their teaching careers, the teachers here have found "working together" with other teachers to be an occasion for learning and to be the grounds for satisfaction with their work. One teacher observed that discussion with other teachers has always been a source of learning, and that "when I was starting out, everybody shared." Two other teachers recalled with some regret that the teacher assigned to help them become acclimated to teaching were uninterested in sharing ideas or materials. Several teachers speculated that given encouragement and time to work together on school improvement, they would have "lots of ideas." Collegial work is *valued:*

> T: We also had a faculty that was fun to be with, they all worked together.
>
> T: I'd like a teacher to help me with, right now, with setting up maybe a social studies unit for the entire year because we don't have a text.

Teachers' statements reflect a view of collegiality that is broad, covering exchanges of materials, discussion of classroom practice, shared work on curriculum, demonstration teaching, and observation of classroom performance. It is a view that touches both upon teachers' preferences for being able to get help when needed, and, to a more limited extent, upon teachers' recognition that pursuit of new ideas or new practices requires a certain collective support. That is, there is some evidence that teachers find collegiality not only personally useful and rewarding when it occurs, but also necessary for the introduction of some forms of school improvement. Discussing the application of behavior modification ideas being taught in an inservice program, one teacher reports:

> T: We were feeling that there weren't that many people around that were going to support you and that in order to do anything well you needed a majority of people involved, and teachers that were in our group--you know, because they were from more than just this school--felt that they had taught a number of years and tried to buck the system and found that one person just screaming all by themselves is not going to work.
>
> I: O.K., so translating that to, say, advice for staff development, if staff development's going to make any difference in a school, it has to be working with enough of the teachers there who agree and are committed and will support each other to create a set of shared views. Is that restating you right?

T: Mm-hm. Mm-hm.

By most accounts, however, preferences for collegial work are not matched by present work experience. Shared work, or shared talk about work, is relatively rare.[1]

> I: But what you're telling me is that it's a rare occasion when teachers come together and say, "What works?"
>
> T: Mm-hm, it's true.

In practice, collegial interaction at Carey is more narrowly circumscribed. Teachers initiate interchanges with colleagues to seek assistance. They lend and borrow materials, and ask for others' suggestions for classroom projects.

> T_1: For, basically, the things that I have asked for from other teachers have been maybe materials to use in teaching, suggestions for art projects. . . . I don't think I've asked for help as far as managing the kids. . . .
>
> T_2: I've gotten materials from first grade teachers, I've gotten materials from second grade teachers, from third, so I guess I beg all around.
>
> I: Do teachers now trade materials and draw upon each other for materials?
>
> T_3: I don't know. Many people come in and borrow from me. Or they'll ask if I have something. Now today I'm going to send [materials] to another teacher in another building. . . . But I share quite a bit. Or some teachers'll come down and ask if I would be offended if they borrowed one of my ideas. I say, "No, go right ahead. It's for sharing."

A very few teachers confide in each other difficulties with classroom management or instruction; still fewer express to each other and to us a wish to observe in classrooms.

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[1] There are exceptions to this view. One teacher claims that "we help each other constantly," especially with budget cuts that have diminished the availability of outside help. The general view expressed in interviews, however, was that teachers more often (and more comfortably) acted autonomously and independently than collegially and interdependently. This view was confirmed by our own limited observations; interactions among teachers were typically restricted to administrative business or to the kind of joking around which camaraderie is built.

I: Have you ever observed her class . . . ?

T: No . . . but I did say something to her recently about, that I wish I had some of her insights or techniques . . . and so she invited me to come down on a certain time when I would be free, on my planning time, to just observe what she does. . . .

Thus, teachers value collegiality and recognize its import, yet enact it only in very limited fashion.[1] They attribute the difference between preference and practice to three factors:

(a) Teachers have reportedly been made "cautious" in their interactions by some recent developments, in which disagreements among teachers have taken the shape of personal conflicts; in one instance, two teachers and a principal were transferred. Looking back, one teacher observes:

T: So they're afraid, you know, that they are doing something that is going to cause friction . . . you're not going to tamper with it.

Another teacher reflects on the way in which the caution generated by fear of conflict limits the extent to which teachers are willing to expose their views and practices to other teachers, and even their willingness to draw upon each other for materials.

T: But you see, that has happened and so some teachers are cautious. So it's too bad but where the teachers are cautious they have been given reason to be. . . . It's a shame. And it could, you know, just like [another teacher] and I, why couldn't it be on a larger scale? . . . That would be the ideal.

In daily interaction, caution is reinforced by complaints about reciprocity (or more precisely, its absence) and by a sense that differences in practice among teachers serve in some ill-defined way as the basis for judging competence. Under these circumstances, to discuss one's own practice or to reveal one's own problems would pose a risk to one's social standing:

I: How much do you all exchange ideas . . . ?

T: It's not consistent. . . . On an average, there seems to be an atmosphere of competition . . . the inference

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[1] To our knowledge, no observation in fact took place, though two teachers conveyed an interest to us and to the principal.

> in some things: 'Well, I've done that. You mean you haven't done it?'

By this account, teachers believe others' tolerance is minimal for exploration, experimentation, and the kind of struggle it may take to master new ideas and new practices. Teachers' discussion of a new program of affective education in the building illustrates how new ideas may be discredited even before trial, and how interactions among teachers serve to dissuade persons from enthusiastically venturing into new arenas. The overriding picture is of a set of interactions that proscribe rather than promote innovation despite all good intentions of staff.

The conditions of exchange, as practiced, serve to limit the risk that teachers take in exposing problems to others, and, ironically, to limit the utility of the help they receive by asking. The more unusual or innovative the materials, the more complex the idea, the less self-evident its application will be to another teacher and the fewer the prospects that teachers will come to find each other's ideas or advice helpful. Teachers are not entirely unaware of this dilemma. One teacher complained that materials or ideas "fall flat" when borrowed without discussion of their use:

> T: They think that if they borrow something from you--a picture or some of your seatwork or something like that--that they'll get the same results.
>
> I: That you get with them.
>
> T: Yeah. But there's no planning behind it, you see, and it falls flat. 'Well, it didn't work for me.'

In a similar example, a teacher noted that teachers observe each other's arrangements of classroom furniture and may choose to adopt an arrangement used by a particular teacher without any understanding of the rationale behind it or the tactics that make it work. This particular teacher groups children around tables, and finds that the physical arrangement works in large part because of a parallel social arrangement built on an image of families, which she cultivates throughout the year and which works to promote group cooperation. She predicts that teachers who employ the physical arrangement without the accompanying social tactics will be disappointed or unimpressed with the results.

In yet another example, a teacher looking for guidance in classroom management found well-intended advice difficult to apply in the absence of any observation or more detailed description of actual practice:

> T: And I've gone up to teachers, some of those same teachers, and I've asked them, well, I've asked how, how does she . . . handle her class and get that class all settled and

quiet and . . . she said to me that 'I demand what I want and I will not accept any more than that. And I keep demanding from them what I want and then I get it. They don't . . . I don't let up.' That was her way of, you know, telling me that's how she gets the job done. 'I demand what I want and I don't want any more than what I demand, and I don't want . . . and, and I don't want any *less*, and I'll get it.' And then I say, well . . . and then now. . . . Does that make any sense?

I: Yeah. But then I would have guessed that what you would say is, 'Gee, I still don't know what I do Monday.'

T: Yeah.

I: Do you come away with that feeling? You still aren't sure what you'd do in front of your own class?

T: Well, I come back and I say: 'I want you to sit down and you will sit down and that's it!!!' You know.

(b) Teachers report that present demands on their time operate to discourage cooperative work. Meetings are held frequently, on a range of topics that teachers do not necessarily believe reflect their interests; and the building is adopting three new curriculum programs this year, all of which require preparation time. Under these circumstances, teachers view any further demands for group involvement as an unwarranted intrusion.

I: Tell me your impression of conversation. . . . There are very few times during the day as far as I can tell where teachers are together, where those discussions. . . .

T_1: No, huh-uh.

I: There aren't? There are a lot?

T_1: Not too many because, you know, in the mornings we have so many meetings where we are talked to. . . .

T_2: Very anti-meetings. Because we have these others foisted upon us. We have to survive, you know.

T_3: I would guess roughly fifteen things that we have had to choose on so far this year, and these people keep coming in wanting to. . . . And I think that's another reason why they don't *volunteer* as readily, they're so tired of having been told you have a choice and then you're *assigned*

> whether you were . . . and you had a democratic chance to vote for or against and you were told, 'Here's the visitor, you're going to have him from nine to ten.' And this goes on and on.

In a very mundane sense, at the level of schedules, collegiality has proven hard to arrange. New ideas or programs are, by teachers' reports and by our observations, added on to schedules already crowded. Discussion at a detailed practical level of the way in which priorities must be ranked and how priorities are reflected in schedules does not appear to take place; in its absence, complaints proliferate, teachers adopt sarcastic tones, and the chances that teachers or principal can recruit others to any subsequent new program or new idea are correspondingly diminished.[1]

(c) Collegial interaction of the sort that teachers envision would require that some existing patterns of interaction among teachers be altered or displaced. As described by teachers, there is no one place in the building or time in the schedule where teachers routinely expect to be together, talk together, or work together on professional matters. They characterize most formal meetings as reflecting priorities other than their own. After-school inservice meetings and faculty meetings are generally (but not exclusively) organized by the principal or by a downtown office; grade level meetings are convened to handle administrative business.

The principal occasion for informal gathering in the course of the school day is the teachers' lounge, where conversation tends to be casual and centered on persons' personal lives outside of school, or on encounters with individual students. In assessing the prospects for more shared work among teachers, one teacher defended present interactions in the lounge on the grounds that they permit teachers to display their tiredness, frustration, and anger in ways they cannot in the classroom:

> I: Like you go in the teachers' lounge and the conversation there is about last night's date or whatever. Is that right?
>
> T: Yeah.

---

[1] A teacher in another elementary school, commenting on the success of a demanding program of inservice and innovation, attributed teachers' willingness to invest time and energy in collective work to the agreement to focus on a single priority area for school improvement for a three-year period. Now that teachers have mastered the ideas and methods called for in that approach, they are interested in "moving on" to other ideas and other applications.

I: Basically.

T: Or if somebody kicked you in the shins, yes.

I: Right. Right. Exactly. Where do . . . how would you arrange an occasion where teachers would in fact take the time and feel comfortable with the kind of conversation you describe? . . . Why don't those conversations go on at all in the teachers' lounge?

T: Because they're tired, they're tired. I, for one, do not want to go in there--I will talk about a child sometimes, depending, if something funny happened or something bad or whatever--but usually I want to get away from it.

Other teachers take a less generous view, finding the conversation in the lounge "critical," "detrimental," and "complaining"; these teachers appeared less likely to discount the complaints as simply a release of stress, and more likely to take lounge conversation as evidence that prospects for professional talk were few.

I: Have you talked to them about these things you're curious about . . . ?

T: No. No.

I: Is that the kind of thing that teachers discuss in the building at all? Like, do you ever hear, 'Gee, how do you handle reading groups?'

T: No, it isn't. The kind of thing they discuss is very critical.

In sum, it appears that the closer collegiality and innovation come to detailed scrutiny of actual practice in classrooms, the more useful and rewarding it is, but the more difficult it is to initiate, the greater are the risks to self-esteem and status among colleagues, and the less likely it is that the needed organizational arrangements (e.g., time needed for observation) will be in place.

III. SUMMARY

Formal occasions of staff development at Carey have been frequent, and teachers all recognize the value placed on staff development by the current principal. Yet the ideas and methods presented in formal training are unevenly translated into classroom practice, and formal exposure is unmatched by informally shared enthusiasm and support. Issues of substantive relevance aside (for teachers disagree about the usefulness of particular topics), there appear to be characteristics of Carey as a *work* situation that discourage participation in staff development and limit its influence on the school as a whole. To the extent that staff development in the future gains any foothold here, it is likely to be through systematic attention to *cultivating* a set of expectations for collaboration and innovation and through attention to administrative arrangements that clearly and consistently support rather than undermine such expectations.

SPRINGER JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

194

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION 77

II. VIEWS OF WORK AT SPRINGER JUNIOR HIGH 77

DIFFICULT AND CHALLENGING WORK 77

COLLEGIALITY AT SPRINGER: PREFERENCES AND PRACTICES 80

INFLUENCE OF A NEW PRINCIPAL 85

SUMMARY 86

III. LEARNING ON THE JOB 86

TEACHERS ARE IN DISAGREEMENT ABOUT THE WORTH AND RELEVANCE OF FORMAL STAFF DEVELOPMENT 86
  Some Teachers Credit Staff Development With Influencing Their Perspectives and Their Practices 87
  Teachers' Known Participation in Formal Programs of Staff Development Is Viewed Largely With Indifference by Nonparticipating Peers 88
  The Design and Conduct of Staff Development, Quite Apart From Persons' Interest or Commitment, Can Contribute to Indifference and Resistance 92
  External Pressures, Requirements and Circumstances May Limit Persons' Interest in New Ideas and Continuous Improvement 98

TEACHERS DESCRIBE A SET OF CONDITIONS THAT SUPPORT CONTINUOUS IMPROVEMENT 98
  Learning Is Valued and Rewarded 98
  Learning From and With Others 101
  Learning From Outsiders 108

IV. SUMMARY 110

I. INTRODUCTION

Springer Junior High School has sustained a record of academic success in the six years since it opened; on the basis of median achievement scores, it consistently ranks in the top few of the eighteen junior highs in this district. And, by the record, it is a school that has shown some commitment to staff development, having participated recently on a reasonably large scale in at least one of the district-sponsored programs of instructional improvement training. Talk with teachers or administrators and observations of daily life here, however, reveal a picture more complex than these summary glimpses allow. An overall image of success masks a range of challenges and difficulties that teachers and administrators face on a day by day basis. And a cursory record of formal involvement in staff development fails to reflect the broad array of (often ambivalent and conflicting) views that teachers here hold about learning on the job generally and staff development particularly. In the discussion that follows, we have looked to interviews with sixteen[1] of Springer's fifty-two teachers and with all three of its administrators for the depth and specificity required to fill in these broad outlines. We have concentrated particularly on those insights that might help to shape informal practices of "learning on the job" and that might contribute to the design and conduct of more formal staff development efforts.

II. VIEWS OF WORK AT SPRINGER JUNIOR HIGH

DIFFICULT AND CHALLENGING WORK

Teachers here describe a set of difficult and demanding circumstances created by desegregation specifically and urban schools more generally. Such circumstances strain teachers' capabilities, confidence and good will; they also create the grounds on which some teachers can envision a line of challenging and satisfying work.

Desegregation has engaged schools in achieving several aims whose relatedness is not always clear to teachers, and over which they are not always certain they have influence. The school has sustained its high academic rank, but teachers observe that minority students (especially those who are bused from the low-income "satellite" areas)[1] are disproportionately represented in the remedial or lower classes, less often found among the academically celebrated students. Some wonder aloud if the minority students have made any academic gains, though others observe that performance appears to improve in heterogeneous elective classes. Suspension of minority students have been disproportionately high. On the whole, some groups of students fare better here than others, and teachers are uncertain that what they do in classes can alter the balance. Increasingly, however, as the building has become more stable and teachers more confident, they are turning their curiosity and concern to precisely that issue.

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[1] Additional informal conversations were held with six other teachers. Full day observations were conducted in the classes of four teachers, and selected observation in the classes of three others, altogether covering classes in six departments (English, math, science, social studies, music, and foreign language).

Similarly, teachers wonder about their ability as individuals or as a group to alter the nature of intergroup relations. By all accounts, there has been some observable progress but it has been very slow in coming. Teachers claim the school is "still segregated" but "less segregated than it was." In particular, some heterogeneous classes have fostered intergroup friendships, and some teachers engage in specific strategies aimed at making minority students feel more a part of the school. The student council sponsor and members have worked this year to recruit minority members; the newspaper sponsor looks for opportunities to mark the membership of minority students by including them in stories and pictures. The principal, observing that sheer physical distance from the school creates a sense of powerlessness among the minority parents, has gone to the "satellite" neighborhoods to meet with parents. It is his aim to close the distance among groups by providing clear opportunities for everyone to "belong." There is some evidence that old frustrations or doubts are being converted to questions, curiosities, and deliberate stragegies for exerting greater influence.

As individuals and occasionally as departments, teachers have altered and expanded their classroom practices in response to a more diverse student population. They organize classroom instruction and assign homework to take into account their observation that out of school time, for some large class of students, is not organized to encourage or permit study. Teachers cite the competing demands of part-time jobs, babysitting or other family obligations, or "different expectations" to account for observed differences between the performance of students who are bused to the school from the low-income "satellite" areas and students who live in the neighborhood. To accommodate those differences, some teachers report that they "run a tightly organized program in school," stressing a lot of practice during class. Others comment that they rely less on homework to confirm mastery of ideas and to demonstrate responsibility, concentrating instead on opportunities to accomplish those aims during the school day. Several lament "how little continuity you can expect in urban schools with high absences."

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[1] At the time this work was conducted 350 of Springer's 720 students were bussed to the school from the satellite neighborhoods. The bussed students accounted for most, but not all, of the school's 54% minority population.

Teachers expand their repertoire of classroom methods to account for a range of knowledge, skills, interests, and expectations for teacher-student interaction. "You teach differently," in the words of one teacher. More individualization, a different balance of oral and written work, more varied pace, and more repetition are among the changes teachers report. In some instances, the greater variety in approach that was forced by diversity in student performance is viewed by teachers as an advance in their teaching; a teacher who says he "falls into just lecturing" with homogeneous advanced groups believes he is nonetheless cheating the students by doing so. Others are less certain of the benefits and less comfortable with the more varied demands. Some report mixed motives in selecting one method over another; e.g., the frequent use of routine written work with "low" classes may reflect less the value of drill and practice than an interest in sustaining some measure of order and quiet.

Just as successful instruction has come to demand a broad repertoire of practices, so classroom order or discipline has required some change in tactics. There is a thin line, it appears, between sustaining rapport with particular groups and leaving oneself open to charges of favoritism. Issues of fairness and consistency in discipline have provided group conflict in the past, forcing teachers and administrators to work toward a shared view and some agreement on methods.

Over a period of years, teachers report that they have gained in the confidence with which they approach an inevitably complex teaching situation. For some reasonably large number of teachers, interests and concerns revolve less around "survival" on a day-to-day basis and more around the possibilities for and limits on achieving educational and social aims. Still, by their comments (and often by the tone in which they are made), teachers convey a certain puzzlement; they are frequently perplexed, dismayed, stumped by the task they face. One teacher claims, "I still don't know how to teach a mix of kids, even after classes and inservices."

In all, concern for success is matched by uncertainty about how best to achieve it. To the extent that teachers or administrators here look to others (including staff development) as allies or advisors--as colleagues--it is likely to arise out of their demonstrated ability to add certainty to concern, and to turn simple curiosity into collective scrutiny. In the sections that follow, we have drawn upon interviews with teachers and administrators to characterize the nature and extent of teachers' interactions with each other, with administrators and with staff development consultants.

COLLEGIALITY AT SPRINGER: PREFERENCES AND PRACTICES

In some respects, it's easy to think of Springer as a school populated by strangers. Teachers here say the faculty is "not very unified" and some even label it "cold." An assistant principal observes that "people don't know each other." Yet several teachers stated preferences for a more collegial staff and more shared work; they claim the situation is improving and point out that the faculty is more cohesive this year than last. Teachers are pleased that their recent collective effort to curb tardiness by making themselves visible in the halls appears to be working.[1] Further, the kinds of involvements that some teachers pursue out of school (e.g., curriculum writing workshops, conference presentations, or observing in other schools) give credence to their claim that they can *envision* a more extensive range of professional involvement than they are presently *enacting* at work. They attribute the gap between preference and practice to several factors:

(1) *Rapid administrative turnover.* Springer has had four principals in the six years since it opened, leading teachers to complain of an absence of consistent leadership and to remark that teachers and administrators too often work "at odds." The instability in the building has taken its toll. Teachers can't engage themselves in new ideas or sustain investment in improved practice when the building is in turmoil. Teachers look to the current principal to build a more cohesive faculty and to "lay the groundwork" that will permit attention to school improvement. One goes so far as to predict that teachers "would be willing to meet in the summer to get things in the building on the right foot."

(2) *Lingering resentments among staff members who were unwilling transfers from a neighboring junior-senior high school when this school opened.* "We're still living with the effect of forced transfers," according to one teacher; her views were echoed by several others. Compounding the divisions among the faculty is the consistent and powerful and somewhat exclusive influence exerted by this group of former high school teachers. In some respects, influence in the school has come to reside in a group of persons who did not want

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[1] Concerned about students' chronic lateness to class, teachers as a group agreed to an arrangement by which they would conduct "hall sweeps" during the first ten minutes of each period. Teachers use the first part of their planning period to walk the halls in pairs, thus offering a chance for conversation at the same time that stragglers are chased into classes. Conceivably, a next step in increasing a sense of collegiality might call for teachers to ask whether there are some classes where students simply are not late, and to ask what transpires in the first three minutes of those classes.

to be there, who continue to some extent to pine for the old days, and whose members do not frequently engage in work with others.

(3) *Competition over course enrollments forced by a declining student population.* Tagged "the numbers game" by teachers, this situation leads people to employ various means of persuasion (including what some refer to as "outrageous gimmickry") to make some courses appear more attractive than others. One teacher characterizes the situation as "cutthroat competition," hardly conducive to cooperation on other fronts.

There are two respects in which this relative absence of collegiality bears upon staff development, or learning on the job more broadly.

First, teachers here engage each other only sporadically in shared discussion and shared work on matters of educational practice. Teachers remark that while department members tend to be "compatible" and while no one is "selfish" with ideas, there is nothing organized or systematic about their attempts to pursue ideas and issues. The range of shared work within departments is, by teachers' own accounts, somewhat narrow. Teachers sometimes share materials; they occasionally ask for advice; they periodically collaborate on some classroom project.[1] Generally, however, an image of distance colors teachers' descriptions of faculty relations. People "get along on the surface," according to one teacher; while there's "not much feuding," there's also not much talk about curriculum, classroom practices, or materials. One teacher who claims to be "bugged" by the absence of regular communication in her department sums it up this way: "We get along fine but we don't work together." Teachers convey an overriding sense that they face a difficult and challenging situation, in the face of which they preserve an equally overriding independence and self-reliance. Teachers do not constitute a group resource for sustaining the quality of the school program. They rely on each other sporadically, and tackle tough questions at best in a piecemeal fashion.

Second, teachers do not exert much influence over one another's teaching. Teachers here pursue a course of mutual tolerance, protecting established rights to personal preference in matters of practice. They do not evaluate one another's performance, and they avoid criticism as somehow constituting an assault on friendship.[1] At least one teacher speculated on the value of having department chairmen engage in the evaluation of departmental practice, but was uncertain how to proceed without jeopardizing social relationships:

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[1] It is not always clear to members of a department how they might organize shared work. Teachers who organize widely divergent courses may have difficulty seeing the common points that would enable them to work together. In addition, the preference for more shared work is unsupported at present by any habits and by the kind of shared knowledge that make that kind of venture smooth. For example, teachers avoid joint planning or preparation when they have the impression that "others don't prepare like I do."

> T: I am not sure but what there should be some evaluation of each teacher each year by perhaps other department members or a department chairman. . . . The problem with that is that they are also your friends. So do you elevate yourself to where you say to this person, "You are my friend but you are not doing this right." That is real hard to do so most department chairmen would not want the responsibility of being able to correct or evaluate colleagues.

Teachers do not extensively talk about work, watch each other's work, or work together. Thus, their views of one another's practice are in many respects limited. One teacher observes that teachers in the same department may not know what other members are doing.

Ironically, this pattern of noninteraction has masked the strengths and exposed the weaknesses. Faculty members appear more widely conscious of shared frustrations, confusions, and problems than of the nature and range of attempted solutions. Their knowledge of and talk about persistent pressures and demands are not matched by their knowledge and talk about the hard work, the struggle to understand, the workable practices and the failed attempts. Teachers frequently noticed and reported instances of others' critical talk about students ("teachers badmouth the kids"), but were less likely to describe the occasions on which (to their knowledge) their peers have tested three separate approaches to draw students into an idea or set of materials. Teachers often enough credited their peers with being well-trained, competent, and hard working, yet were uncertain exactly how they proceed in class. Throughout the building, for example, teachers reported that they had had to alter their instruction to accommodate children who cannot read. One science teacher finds himself reading aloud to ninth grade classes; other teachers give instructions verbally rather than in written form; and the English department is unhappy with the reading program. Still, the precise nature of teachers' accommodations in the face of a widespread and serious problem is not widely visible to or talked about among teachers and across departments. In sum, staff here do not as a rule (or habit) call upon each other to judge the worth or relevance of *present* practice in light of presumably shared aims. Nor do they accord peers influence with respect to the worth or relevance of *new* ideas or methods. One teacher claimed that the tactic of sending one member of a department out to learn something "wouldn't work to influence the others." Some people casually pass on the ideas they have "picked up," but they don't push ideas or resources where there is any evidence of opposition. Teachers who do encounter promising ideas (e.g., through participation in staff development) are somewhat hesitant to present them to others. A representative to the district's secondary school instruction committee, where such ideas are routinely presented, comments that other faculty have no reason to credit such presentations when the teachers presenting them have not in fact tested them.[1] At the same time, testing some ideas may be difficult without a measure of

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[1] Still, teachers quite clearly judge each other's work. The taboo against mutual criticism does not somehow protect persons from the judgments of their peers. Thus, teachers notice what students know and do when they enter a class and judge the previous teachers accordingly. They base a view of others' commitment on their willingness to sponsor clubs and activities. They distinguish between those who spend time in the lounge and those who "spend their planning period planning." They listen to students' talk to form impressions of teachers who "babysit" and teachers who "show the kids *how* to do something rather than just telling them to do it." They tolerate in practice but condemn in conversation teachers who prove unwilling to teach the full range of the curriculum. While teachers protest that students make judgments on "the wrong things" when judging teachers, they act on those impressions in the absence of more reliable evidence.

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[1] Staff development personnel who conduct the instruction committee meetings have tried to encourage representatives to "take ideas back" to their schools by engaging them around images of challenge and risk. They suggest that teachers can begin to introduce new ideas with little risk to themselves by talking about them casually with a few individual teachers; presentation to a department meeting, faculty meeting, or inservice would represent escalating degrees of risk. By this argument (one that is supported in teachers' comments), *one dimension of risk is the degree to which one exposes one's own knowledge, skill, and experience to the scrutiny of others.* Professional standing and self-esteem are more on the line in front of a large gathering than in a casual conversation with a friend.

Descriptions of work at Springer suggest a second powerful dimension of risk. Teachers here value and practice independence and autonomy; while they may hold private opinions about the value of particular practices, they typically do not talk or act as if there were shared, collegial rights to the analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of those practices. To the extent that they exist, the rights (and obligation) to evaluate and influence teachers' practice are reserved to administrators. In this light, a teacher may be at risk of jeopardizing social relations by making an aggressive pitch to a single faculty member; that same teacher is less at risk by collective support from fellow teachers and the willing cooperation of administrators. In fact, teachers here have discovered in recent months that their willingness to act collectively and experimentally on an untested idea has enabled them to resolve what they called "the tardiness problem." Presumably, their success with "hall sweeps" has contributed to better instruction in the building by permitting more teachers to start more classes on time and to continue those classes without interruption by late-arriving students. It is conceivable, judging from teachers' accounts, that teachers might be more receptive to ideas "brought back" from outside (or more willing to introduce ideas to others) if the ideas were presented less as a script to be followed or a program to be adopted than as the seed of an idea to be developed and tested collectively in response to shared curiosities or problems.

Teachers here are quick to point out that the faculty has not been very "close" in the years since the school opened; most are equally quick to point out that interactions are becoming more frequent and more satisfying under the present leadership. "We're more cohesive this year than we've been before," according to one teacher. If addressing what one teacher called "the important questions" requires some degree of collective attention and collective commitment, further cultivation of collegiality assumes greater significance.

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making a routine, peremptory "report" to a full meeting of the faculty. By this argument, *a second dimension of risk is the degree to which one invokes the right to evaluate and influence others' teaching practices.*

Viewed in these ways, the concept of risk becomes uninterpretible apart from the prevailing work relationships in a school. At Springer, where collegial relationships are narrowly bounded, interactions that require interdependence may be problematic. In schools where shared work is the norm, those same interactions may involve no risk at all. And in some schools, where collective efforts to analyze and improve practice are firmly established, a teacher might be at risk by any demonstrated reluctance to examine present practices or introduce new ideas. Teachers and administrators take risks (or are placed unwittingly at risk) when their actions do not accord with the established expectations, whatever those may be.

THE INFLUENCE OF A NEW PRINCIPAL

Teachers expect the principal to set a tone for the school, to sustain a certain direction and coherence. High turnover in the past has been a barrier to cohesiveness among the faculty, and has generated a prevailing sense that Springer's new principal must prove his worth. Still, the faculty is willing to "give him some time" to make a difference. It is his explicit aim to close some of the distance among groups, to foster higher expectations for and performance of the low income students and to encourage more collegial work among teachers and between teachers and administrators (e.g., by placing more responsibility in the hands of department chairmen). In the few months that the principal has been in the building teachers credit him with building a more cohesive faculty, supporting professionalism, and working toward school improvement generally by:

> Acting as he expects teachers to act. He assists with lunch duty, meets the busses in the morning and afternoon, walks the halls during passing periods.
>
> Asking the advice of teachers, taking their interests and observations into account, yet making decisions quickly. Increasingly, he is building an atmosphere in which ideas for improvement are encouraged and thoughtful criticism is permitted.
>
> Spending enough time walking and talking in the building that he "knows what's happening in the building."
>
> Emphasizing improvements in curriculum.[1] Teachers expect that increasingly over the next year they will be able to "branch out into curriculum" in designing changes.

In the course of his daily interactions with teachers, then, the principal has begun to stimulate the kind of interest and build the kind of habits that teachers here believe are required for long-term success and high faculty morale.

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[1] What impresses teachers is the principal's *concern* and high *expectations* for the quality of the curriculum. Teachers' comments here are revealing in light of the principal's statements that he feels relatively weak in the area of curriculum, and is learning about it gradually. He feels particularly at a loss by virtue of following other principals who were uniformly knowledgeable in that area.

SUMMARY

In their descriptions of Springer Junior High, teachers and administrators characterize a work situation that is at once challenging and difficult. By all accounts, it is equally challenging and difficult as a context for effective staff development. Persistent, complex problems create pressures and demands that are beyond the ability of individual teachers to ease; potentially, there is fertile ground here for collective reflection and experimentation of the sort envisioned by some teachers and intended by staff development. At the same time, teachers here have typically pursued an independent course. Preferences for shared discussion of practice and shared work to improve it are emerging gradually under the influence of the newly appointed principal. The habits and routines required to reflect and sustain such expectations are less in evidence, though teachers to whom we spoke displayed interest in using department meetings and instruction committee meetings more regularly to address curriculum issues. Work with others, inside the school or out, remains relatively rare. In all, there are at Springer some strongly articulated interests and preferences that favor a role for staff development; there are also some powerfully entrenched habits and perspectives that operate to proscribe its involvement here and limit its impact.

III. LEARNING ON THE JOB

TEACHERS ARE IN DISAGREEMENT ABOUT THE WORTH AND RELEVANCE OF FORMAL STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Widely divergent views of staff development are represented among Springer's faculty.[1] As a school, Springer has participated in at least one intensive program of staff development, sending approximately one-third of its teachers for two weeks' training in instructional improvement; the program was organized around ideas drawn from Madeline Hunter, Benjamin Bloom, and others, and made provision for subsequent classroom followup. Some teachers have been enthusiastic participants in this and other programs and even look for an expanded staff development role. Others register various degrees of doubt, skepticism, indifference, or reluctance. Taken together, the arguments posed by the enthusiasts and the skeptics convey some of the limits and possibilities of current staff development; they also suggest those features of "learning on the job" generally that must be captured to win wider endorsement of staff here.

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[1] Among the 294 summary statements about learning on the job that were drawn from teacher interviews, only 137 or 47 percent describe arrangements that teachers favor and that they have routinely encountered; another fifty-eight, or 20 percent are descriptions of arrangements that would, *if* encountered, attract teachers' participation. And eighty-seven, or 30 percent are comments about situations that have in some respect been discouraging or limiting.

Some Teachers Credit Staff Development With Influencing Their Perspectives and Their Practices

"I question more now than I used to," according to one teacher. Another teacher who has completed training in mastery learning reports that it "forces you to organize your teaching." Those who report gains in competence and confidence in the classroom cite several features of staff development programs as specific contributors:

> Programs have been designed and conducted to show the *integration of theory ("philosophy"), research, and practice.* Teachers look to such programs for well-grounded ideas (a "logical concept," in the words of one teacher) and for some attempt to guide the translation of that idea in practice. For example, the idea that teaching will proceed more effectively where expectations for learning are clearly and consistently established has been rendered "practical" for some teachers by the tactical suggestion that they always have some review activity ready to go as students enter class. The activity serves to establish a classroom "mind set" in the very first minutes of class while the teacher is typically occupied by attendance reports, excuses for past absences, arrangements for make-up work, and the usual array of administrative detail; it also permits teachers to establish clear continuity from previous days' work and (when checked or collected) to maintain a running check on student progress.
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> *Classroom observation* following out-of-school ("pullout") training has been a strong point of some programs. Teachers emphasize that the focus on the application of a specific set of ideas makes the observation "comfortable" by permitting agreement between teacher and observer about the criteria for good work. One teacher claims, "You talk about the application, and not 'What's wrong with you.'" In all, observation has been designed and conducted to build rather than erode confidence.
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> *Group* study, reflection, and practice have been valuable features of some programs. One teacher characterized the best of the group arrangements as "lab situations." In association with others, teachers discover issues and questions they had not anticipated, practice using new perspectives to interpret old situations, develop implementation tactics that appear manageable for a regular classroom. One teacher described team efforts to apply a problem-solving approach to a set of scenarios; the group practice proved useful in showing the kind of language and procedure required to resolve tough situations

without assigning blame and escalating conflict. A contribution of the approach, in the words of one teacher, is that it "helps you recognize situations when they occur."

An emphasis on sound ideas and successful practice has been compelling. Teachers contrast this celebration of "what works" (or at least what's worth trying) with warnings about "what not to do." Even inservices required under the court desegregation order (and generally panned even by staff development enthusiasts) have been useful where they have focused on unraveling *situations* rather than building empathy for *groups*.

Instructors or resource people have been persuasive when they have demonstrated the knowledge, experience, and skill needed to make a balance of theory and practice seem possible, and when they have conveyed their own belief in the worth of a particular line of work. One teacher remarked that the mastery learning staff in the district was convincing to others in part because they were themselves so convinced.

Programs have been organized to satisfy certain *bureaucratic requirements* (e.g., recertification) at the same time that they have offered an opportunity to add to knowledge and skill.

Teachers whose experiences have been favorable approve of an expanded role for staff development. Under the general rubric of staff development, some teachers look for more frequent opportunities to initiate work with others in the district and in other buildings. In particular, some intend to extend their own present knowledge and practice by seeking opportunities to observe others. In some instances, teachers impressed with a particular approach (e.g., mastery learning) consider district-sponsored staff development the appropriate mechanism by which the ideas can be more widely introduced and practiced. In other cases, teachers anticipate a more unspecified but continuous partnership arrangement in which resource people could help teachers to develop and test ideas.

Teachers' Known Participation in Formal Programs of Staff Development Is Viewed Largely With Indifference by Nonparticipating Peers

One teacher who enjoyed a workshop on cooperative learning tried to encourage participation by others by posting a written notice, praising the program, and offering to describe it to any teacher who was interested. She said, "No one even asked." By teachers' accounts, this prevailing disinterest has two roots:

First, some teachers do not believe that any difference has been made by selective participation in staff development programs. One teacher observes, "The last couple of years, we've had teachers going out to get help and it didn't seem to make a difference. The good are about as good, and there's no improvement in the poor."

Another adds, "A lot of teachers have participated in these ("pullout") programs but there's little change in classrooms."

Second, some teachers resent the burden they feel when others leave school for several days. "It hurts the school to have eight subs for two weeks," complained one teacher. The combination of strain on nonparticipating teachers and skepticism about demonstrable benefit generates a belief that teachers who leave the classroom to attend staff development programs are "bad teachers," uncommitted and insensitive. Teachers gain prestige among peers by demonstrating an unflagging commitment to the classroom; because staff development is not viewed as a contributor to classroom competence, participation in staff development programs does not add to teachers' professional standing here.

One teacher praised a two-week program of instructional improvement training for adding to her skill and confidence in the classroom, but said she returned to school to find fellow teachers resentful and students confused after two weeks with a substitute. She "would not do it again," even if interested in the program being offered. Another teacher lamented the infrequent use of educational leave days, but added that most teachers saw them only as a chance "to get out of this place for a day." Acknowledging the powerful belief that "a good teacher will not leave his class,"[1] one administrator believes that the district's staff development sponsors will have to "solve the problem of pullouts" before they can expect to build interest among Springer teachers.

By these accounts, expanding staff development activity at Springer will require that teachers and administrators who are convinced of its utility find a way to *demonstrate* gains to others and to make disruptions to school routine more tolerable. On the whole, it appears that whatever virtues staff development programs may have had, and whatever benefits may have accrued from them, have been largely *invisible* to those who remained behind:

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[1] Staff developers in the district seek credibility with teachers by stressing a commonality of experience and position; they emphasize that they are themselves "teachers on special assignment," and that they have had recent and extensive classroom experience. This tactic has a certain appeal to teachers who view it as evidence that the district is crediting teachers' experience and using what one teacher in another school called "talent from within." Certain prevailing views at Springer, however, suggest that there may be some limits to the approach; a reasonably large number of teachers here are inclined to believe that teachers who take positions with staff development "only want to get out of the classroom."

The specific program features that some few teachers viewed so favorably have not been incorporated as systematically or successfully in programs involving the entire staff: topics have been remote from classroom practice, presenters or instructors have appeared uncertain, advice has been ambiguous, opportunities for collective work have been underused or badly designed. Exposure to programs of more powerful design has been limited, leaving some teachers wondering what all the enthusiasm is about.

The design of the staff development programs, the ideas and methods explored, the intended nature of application, and probable sequence (and period) of implementation have not been routine topics of discussion among teachers, either informally or formally. Department meetings, for example, are by most accounts reserved for administrative business. This raises the question of how teachers gain an understanding of what improvements are intended, over what period of time, and how they might be recognizable to others.[1] Ironically, teachers who attempt to apply new ideas or practices may place their own professional standing (and self-esteem) in jeopardy and may erode faculty confidence in staff development precisely by their attempts to get better at what they do. The more complex and difficult a new idea or practice, the longer the period needed to demonstrate skillful and confident use. Lacking any clear statement of what's intended and any regular discussion of the problems and progress in making a good idea "practical," other teachers may look upon the struggle from a distance and judge only that things seem no different or in fact seem to be getting worse.

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[1] According to one administrator, teachers who participated in a two-week program of instructional improvement training subsequently used a half-day inservice to introduce what they had learned to the others. She says, "We took an afternoon of school time and used each one of these twelve people as facilitators who kind of reteach all of this to the entire faculty. And that was a very exciting thing." Yet not a single teacher, "facilitator" or participant, mentioned that occasion in interviews. Since the inservice was apparently inconsequential, one can thus ask: Was the half-day session intended literally to "reteach" the lessons of two weeks in a half day, and if so, how did teachers select the concepts and skills to stress? Was the half-day interpreted by other teachers as an attempt to push them into adopting new ideas, or as an occasion for stimulating some curiosity about (or at least tolerance for) what twelve of their number would be attempting in practice? Were the provisions for classroom observation, group practice and the like that teachers found valuable in the workshop extended to others as a consequence of the half-day session?

There are no opportunities for teachers to see new ideas and methods in practice. Teachers do not observe in one another's classrooms, thus limiting severely the chance to witness the translation of ideas into practice and to generate the kind of concrete, situationally specific discussions that could stimulate enthusiasm and build tolerance.

There are few routine arrangements for teachers to work together to implement new ideas, thus making the chore of applying ideas more difficult and the probability of demonstrating benefit less. Even where a change in district curriculum presents all members of a department equally with a new and unfamiliar situation, shared work is minimal and implementation uneven. A member of the math department thus reports that when the "new math" was introduced, there were sporadic discussions in department meetings (e.g., about "number bases and set theory"), but no systematic attempt to engage in collective planning, preparation, and review of progress. In consequence, according to this teacher, implementation has been uneven and some teachers must compensate for others' less aggressive involvement.

In sum, what has made staff development useful in several instances has been:

(1) A well-founded concept (that is not regularly discussed with others in the course of daily work).

(2) A chance to work with others to translate good ideas into effective practices (that does not extend in established and routine ways to work in or across departments).

(3) A chance to observe and be observed (that is not a welcome feature of work at school).

(4) A chance to "report what works" (that is not incorporated in any regular way into department meetings and other "organized occasions).

Thus, as teachers leave the building to engage in staff development and as they later work on their own to apply new ideas in practice, they participate in few interactions that serve to build a shared belief that testing new ideas ("improvement") requires time, requires some tolerance for mistakes, and requires some actual provision for making and displaying progressive gains.

210

The Design and Conduct of Staff Development, Quite Apart From Persons' Interest or Commitment, Can Contribute to Indifference and Resistance

As teachers register their doubts and record their criticisms, they point to specific features of staff development that, reconsidered or redesigned, might spark greater interest. In several principal respects, staff development has been weakened when it has somehow compromised exactly those provisions credited by teachers with influence: a demonstrated integration of theory and practice; an opportunity to practice; collective participation in study and application; and arrangements to observe and be observed. According to teachers, resistance is fostered in several ways:

Resistance is fostered when teachers doubt or cannot determine the worth or relevance of ideas or theory. Teachers do acknowledge and value the place of theory. "You can do a better job of putting an engine together if you understand how it works." By complaining that some presentations are "just theory," teachers do not scorn the role of ideas; they only insist that the treatment of ideas be properly rigorous, and properly within the power of teachers to apply.[1] In parallel fashion, teachers apply criteria for good practical advice.

First, they expect that there will be some recognizable attempt to "be practical." At the least, participants look for anecdotes, illustrations, scenarios--some means of giving imagery to theory, some stab at moving from a broad level of abstraction to descriptions that are concrete. More useful still are occasions that are structured to permit actual application of principles in practice. One teacher proposed that videotapes would be a useful device for illustrating principles of classroom management and for giving teachers practice in analyzing and interpreting actual situatuions; she complains, "I've never sat in an inservice and *watched* classroom management, only talked about it." Another teacher complained that the curriculum course she took as part of her masters degree training covered "schools of thought" without ever permitting persons to discover what consequences each line of thought had for practice:

> T: I took a class in curriculum development (that) didn't really teach us how to plan a curriculum. Went into several schools of thought but . . . if you were looking at an administrator's position, how would you plan a curriculum? We never even went into it.

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[1] One teacher complained that, fascinating though they may be, theories tracing dyslexia to lesions of the brain could not in any way inform her classroom performance.

The kinds of practice she sought are illustrated in the principal's description of some administrator "cross-training"[1] on scheduling conducted when he was an assistant principal in another school:

> P: When I was at this other school, the API (assistant principal for instruction) gave us printed material, enough material for each of the administrators and we actually took it home and figured out class sizes and things like this. Which was good training for me because I've used it now since I've been here.

As a matter of staff development design, the central question appears to be this: What level of concreteness and specificity, achieved by what methods, is required to *reveal a sequence of practice* rather than merely to illustrate the *possibility* of "being practical"?

Second, teachers and administrators expect practical advice to be recognizably "good" advice; staff developers are discredited when recommendations intended to be practical are seen by teachers or administrators as somehow inappropriate. In some instances, advice intended to address one legitimate objective flies in the face of arrangements needed to sustain other equally important aims. One teacher reported that they had been advised in an inservice to leave several minutes at the end of the period for students to talk to each other, with the aim of improving intergroup relations. The advice is "practical" in the sense that teachers could imagine how to do it, but it limits the available time for instruction in a school where class periods may be the only part of a student's day organized for study. Some recent research findings[2] support teachers' views, offering evidence that city schools are more successful when teachers use the entire class period for instruction, running the lesson clear up to the bell; apparently that practice conveys to students that the work is taken seriously by the teacher at the same time that it accords more time for achieving understanding and practice. In addition, teachers' own experience and current research[1] both suggest that shared work on a common task (in the course of classwork) might be a better route to improved intergroup relations. Group work tactics can be designed to insure that talk will proceed across group boundaries, and to ground student interactions in some shared sense of accomplishment. The instrumental music teacher, for example, has observed that students from various groups are tense and awkward in each other's presence at first, but develop intergroup friendships over the course of the year as they work together to make music.

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[1] Secondary school administrators in the district are expected to spend approximately 3 hours each year training one another in all the administrative duties of the school. With the anticipated shift from junior high schools to (smaller) middle schools, administrators anticipate a change in the number of administrators in each building and a corresponding realignment of responsibilities. The cross-training program is one step in preparing administrators to assume new or different responsibilities.

[2] See Rutter et al., *Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979). The appeal of this work is partly its ability (by virtue of the study method) to trace differences in school success to matters of school organization, teachers' expectations, and teachers' practices above and beyond differences in student population.

Along similar lines, advice is discredited when it is overextended, e.g., when a single classroom strategy is presented as suitable for all occasions. A science teacher complains that the claims made for "hands-on" experience go well beyond anyone's actual ability to defend them on the basis of research or practice. He cites experience with a university course that left the impression that hands-on experience should very nearly displace all other methods as an approach to teaching science. At the same time, his own observations in the course of teaching left him skeptical that the principles of science could be taught adequately, that students' interests could be sustained indefinitely, or that students' other needs (e.g., to get practice in reading) could be met in that single fashion.

Thus, staff development is credited when its efforts to achieve practicality clearly demonstrate simultaneous attention to:

> Sound theoretical principles (some stated grounds on which people can at least understand the advice, even if they don't agree with it).
>
> Current research (some reason to believe that this approach will achieve the intended aims).
>
> The multiple (and sometimes competing) aims and requirements that make up the real world of teaching.

In sum, then, staff development is credited when it makes concerted efforts to guide practical application; resistance is fostered when the translation to practice is left to the imagination, skill, and good will of the participants.

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[1] See R. E. Slavin, *Effects of Biracial Learning Teams on Cross-Racial Friendship and Interaction*, Center for Social Organization of Schools, The John Hopkins University, Report No. 240, 1977(d).

Resistance has been fostered when staff development fails to engage people on what they consider "the important questions." There is limited time and money for staff development in schools; teachers appear more likely to credit its role and influence where topics touch upon the central obligations for instruction. Thus, one teacher acknowledges that drugs may be something of a problem for city schools, but finds it an inappropriate use of staff development time to bring in a speaker on drug abuse. (Presumably, circulating summaries of current research and practice might accomplish the same purpose.) Others comment that there have been few or no "academic" inservices. Still others note that as the building is becoming more stable, teachers are concentrating less on simply getting through the day and more on how to tackle serious issues of curriculum and instruction; they are discouraged when those topics are not addressed systematically in inservices or committee or department meetings:

> I: You raised an issue of whether to have heterogeneous or homogeneous classes. Are those issues that are taken up in workshops or inservices?
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> T: Not so far. We haven't even discussed it around here. And it is something that probably needs to be discussed in a workshop or meeting. How can we better integrate these classrooms?

Teachers and administrators acknowledge that these issues are complex, and ambiguous, that the stands people take are as often colored by emotion as they are informed by careful analysis, and that agreement on direction may not be readily forged. Without expecting staff development to resolve such serious and persistent issues, teachers and administrators do expect that it should somehow expand the school's capacity to grapple with them.

Resistance is fostered by situations that provide too little time to engage people fully on a complex topic and that offer too few opportunities for teachers (or administrators) to develop or work through the implications of theory, to offer competing or complementary perspectives, to attempt the analysis and interpretation of actual situations, or to debate or design appropriate practice. Large lecture-style presentations are a particular target of teachers' complaints; they tend to reserve rights of interpretation and analysis to a single person--the speaker-- and render members of an "audience" relatively powerless to examine assumptions or present interpretations of practice. Faced with such a situation, teachers characterize themselves (and others) as "adult discipline problems." They challenge or dismiss ideas summarily rather than examining them closely and, in general, substitute an attack on persons for an attack on (or careful attention to) ideas.

Resistance is fostered when previously established expectations are not met. Teachers have been attracted to inservices on the basis of a topic that seems to tap present needs and experiences, only to find that it contributes neither to understanding nor practice. One teacher recalls that an inservice meeting on stress allotted time and attention to describing stress-producing aspects of situations and outlining explanations for stress, but disappointed teachers by suggesting no tactics for reducing the stress they felt. (Apparently, nothing about the inservice itself or about the ordinary work relationships among teachers led the participants, armed with an understanding of how stress is generated, to expect to work together subsequently on practices designed to make situations less stressful.) Similarly, a teacher who placed some faith in opportunities to observe in practice certain principles for handling handicapped students in the regular classroom was disappointed when program coordinators "didn't pay enough attention to the sites they selected for observation." In yet another recent instance, some teachers on the staff built up others' expectations about the worth of the "least" approach to classroom management, only to have the resulting inservice go badly:

> T: We were rather enthusiastic about it . . . we talked about it and thought about it as a faculty (meeting) you know . . . and then it ended up being part of a ZB3 project (court ordered inservice) and I really didn't think it went over too well. . . . You had people who were not members of the staff . . . who had an ax to grind.
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> A: They didn't send out the team that had done it for the (instruction committee) and they were not nearly as dynamic. They really didn't know the program and they kept referring to the book. So it was really, it was almost a disaster.

This event not only dampened enthusiasm for a particular set of ideas and methods, but also discredited teachers who took the risk of advocating a particular line of work. Staff development that "fails" thus does so in more than one sense: not only does it fail to stimulate interest in potentially promising ideas, but it also may erode teachers' willingness to engage each other in collective projects of any sort.

External Pressures, Requirements and Circumstances May Limit Persons' Interest in New Ideas and Continuous Improvement

By teachers' accounts:

(1) The district takes most seriously and credits most willingly the "improvement" efforts that may require least effort and may have least to do with strengthening classroom practice or building quality. Thus, one teacher who claims to have taken classes and attended conferences over the years out of simple interest now finds herself "succumbing to the pressure" to take "quickie" classes that secure one's job by building a record of accumulated "points"; by her view, interest and innovation have marginal relevance in the face of evidence that longevity and credit hours count most.

(2) Good ideas, like mastery learning, come to be discounted and discredited when teachers believe they are being used for "accountability." A teacher conducting a workshop on mastery learning for fellow teachers says others accuse him of "spreading the cancer."

(3) By some policies and practices unrelated to staff development the district nonetheless conveys a message to teachers that they are incompetent, untrustworthy, and generally held in contempt; that image can color a wide range of interactions between teachers and others. For example, one department chairman finds it "humiliating" that she cannot arrange in advance for a purchase order number when picking up (already approved) supplies, and that she must call for one from the store "like a child." On matters more closely tied to staff development, teachers remark that their views on curriculum are not freely exploited by arrangements (like district level department meetings) that merely "allow us to express our opinions" but permit no observable influence on district decisions.

On this score, it is worth noting that some teachers have found district offices helpful and district resources unfailing in their support of professional interests; one teacher reports that on several occasions, the district has made special arrangements for participation in training programs or has negotiated with a local university on course design. In light of these competing views, a key question here may be: Which set of practices is most visible to teachers, and which set of interpretations most powerful in shaping their views and practices?

(4) By some policies and practices directly related to staff development, the district[1] conveys a message that teachers are not sufficiently professional to take the initiative for improvement or growth, or to assume the responsibility for achieving the broad aims of desegregation. "Force never works" is a frequent theme.

TEACHERS DESCRIBE A SET OF CONDITIONS THAT SUPPORT CONTINUOUS IMPROVEMENT

Teachers describe a set of conditions for learning on the job that, if present in the ordinary work of the school and if approximated in formal staff development programs, would foster commitment to continuous improvement.

Learning Is Valued and Rewarded

Teachers are encouraged to learn when it is clear that learning is valued and rewarded, that it is tied in some demonstrable way to one's professional standing. Among teachers at Springer, the ability to "survive" new and unfamiliar situations by quickly mastering some arsenal of classroom tactics is expected and admired; less frequently noticed or widely admired is the continuous, persistent attention to practices and their effects. Participation in formal programs or regular use of educational leave days is viewed with disdain by some teachers ("as a joke"), indifference by many others, and enthusiasm by a relative few who do not themselves form a cohesive and distinctive group. Teachers claim that the situational (school) relevance of staff development could be firmly established[2] in two ways:

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[1] While the district conducts required inservices and thus takes much of the blame when they go badly (or simply for the fact that they're required), it was not the initiator of the arrangement. The required human relations training is a provision of the court order. Recently, the district has sought to be responsive to buildings while still preserving the intent of the order by asking each building to prepare and submit its own plan for meeting the training requirement.

[2] Teachers understand the relevance of staff development to job security, but illustrate several ways that obligations to the staff, the district, and the court can be satisfied (e.g., with "quickie courses") in ways that bear little if at all on improved school practice.

(1) Continuous learning is made relevant by demonstrating that it is *valued and rewarded by administrators*. Teachers look to administrators in a general sense for the kinds of encouragement that sustain their interest and commitment. An occasional "pat on the back," in their words, "makes you do a better job for the next couple days." More specifically, administrators can made clear that they favor teachers' efforts to improve their knowledge and skill:

> T: I realize that there is a possibility of educational leave. I mean I could go out and observe, I could go talk to these people. But do I do it? No. That is my fault.
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> I: What would it take to get you to do that?
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> T: Probably encouragement from my principal. Because I have done it a few times in the past and boy, have I learned. I learned so much.

Periodic classroom visits convey to teachers that administrators take classroom instruction seriously and generate the impression that they "know what's going on in the building." Such visits foster improvement when they force attention to matters of instructional practice:

> T: I would be honored if the man would slip into one of the back seats and see what I am teaching or if I am teaching or whether or not I am here. . . . There are some . . . who are offended. . . . But I think most of the teachers appreciate a visit. Then of course if something nice can be said. And if criticism is necessary it should be . . . constructive, be helpful. I don't think it should be anything at all derogatory about "your voice is not good, your posture is not good, we're going to have to work on dress a little bit." I think that it should be a type of criticism with specifics.

The conduct of administrators in meetings with teachers can demonstrate or "model" a commitment to the close examination of curriculum and practice, even at the risk of conflict. Teachers here remark that such "open discussion" has been limited here in the past, and that teachers "clam up" in meetings. They look to the current principal to initiate a different pattern of interaction.

And finally, administrators can build commitment for the close scrutiny and regular evaluation of practice by inviting teachers to evaluate administrators' performance. At Springer, the principal announced in a faculty meeting his intent to ask for evaluations of his performance by the teachers. He would distribute an anonymous questionnaire in teachers' boxes, asking also that they write out any additional comments or suggestions for improvement. After his announcement, one teacher turned to another and whispered, "Wow, that's impressive!"

(2) Continuous learning is made relevant when it is *bound up with social acceptance among teachers.* Here, teachers seem uncertain of their peers' willingness to engage in close examination of present practice, their receptivity to new ideas, their willingness to display confusion or debate issues of practice or their tolerance for experimentation that may bring slow gains and occasional outright failures. Asked to estimate the general support among the faculty for any form of innovation or experimentation, one teacher estimated that about one-quarter would be supportive, an equal number "borderline" (they'll "try something"), about forty percent indifferent and the rest "outright hostile." Still, that same teacher found himself "amazed" by the support that was generated in a department meeting for a proposal that the department change its participation in the awards assembly in order to reward good work by more students:

> T: . . . for so long our department has been very anti-award. . . . When the award assembly comes along we have never liked the idea of going out designating this person is number one or number two. . . . Well, yesterday out comes this very positive idea. . . . What it amounts to it that in each class, there is an outstanding student . . . there will be one from each class.
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> I: So the proportion of support and indifference (toward an idea) can change?
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> T: Yes. Now . . . the people who were involved in the discussion yesterday were some who could be very negative. . . . What amazed me way by the time we finished we had drawn people even from the outside into the thing.

His experience suggests that collective support of improvement efforts can be negotiated around specific issues and practices, and that precisely such efforts may help to erode long-standing images of faculty members as more or less interested, committed, enthusiastic, thorough, and the like. For example, a teacher who showed some hesitation about participating in interdisciplinary teams as part of the proposed middle school arrangement nonetheless waxed enthusiastic about a specific team arrangement described to him by a teacher in a neighboring district. In all, it appears that the more specifically teachers can tie their talk to matters of practice, the greater the prospects are that they will find areas of agreement.[1]

In sum, teachers claim that they engage in continuous learning when the rewards for doing so are at least as clear and powerful as the risks. According to teachers, as the building is becoming more "stable" under the leadership of a new principal, there is more interest displayed in matters of curriculum and instructional practice.

T: . . . To tell you the truth the past couple of years . . . I think goals were just passed by the wayside. . . . This year . . . we are really taking a look at programs and are we doing the kids any good. Before we were just getting by. And I think that is a very positive sign of what is going on around here this year. Which programs are being effective. . . . We can see this school starting to shape up. . . . Once the school feels they are fairly well established, like we are getting at least the groundwork for a much better school around here, what are the new innovative types of things we should be looking at? Where should we be going?

I: But until that groundwork is laid?

T: We wouldn't even be listening because we have to settle a lot of problems around here. . . . What is new and innovative, we can't even tackle that right now. Unless it is a program, for example, the reading program that is going nowhere in this school. . .

Learning From and With Others

Learning from and with others is more powerful and more satisfying than learning and working alone. However, circumstances in schools favor working and learning alone. The situation of the classroom teacher requires some degree of independent competence. At the least, teachers must be able to get through the day in classes basically alone and unaided. Learning on the job has been, for most, a record of autonomous trial and error. Evaluation of practice on a regular basis is most often self-evaluation: "I think a lot." And faced with new and unfamiliar situations of the sort encountered with desegregation, teachers find themselves relying principally on their own resources:

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[1] In interviews, some teachers praised the middle school approach for moving the school away from "too much departmentalization;" others were less certain, saying "I prefer departmentalization." Cast in those terms ("too much," "prefer"), the arguments shaped up as adversary stands with competing judgments or interpretations. It seemed that gains might be made and alliances forged by discussions that focused on the *practices* that teachers found attractive or unattractive, efficient or cumbersome, in each arrangement.

> "We never received help in working through the changes."

> "I watched and listened and evaluated day by day."

Teachers have some confidence in their ability to develop into successful teachers on their own. Still, as they talked about their work and about the struggle to get better at what they do or simply to survive, they revealed some of the dilemmas inherent in working and learning alone.

First, the situation that teachers face in urban, desegregated schools is sufficiently complex and sufficiently beyond the ability of any single teacher to master and influence that working alone brings limited rewards.

Second, some practices that appear to exert influence over achievement and intergroup relations require some degree of collective commitment and widespread use in order to prove effective; sporadic isolated attempts in individual classrooms may seem not to "work" when in fact they have not been tested in ways that would permit their effects to be seen. One teacher comments that "a few of us" are beginning to discuss strategies of heterogeneous grouping in classes as a way to build expectations for achievement and to encourage intergroup friendships. Arrangements by which "forty or fifty kids . . . get all the rewards" are similarly at issue, as are established patterns by which "bright" Anglo students are recruited and pushed more aggressively than their minority counterparts. Practices of these sorts are beyond the power of a single teacher either to sustain or to alter; they draw their influence from collective participation.

Third, practices that hold promise may appear to be such a considerable departure from what is presently being used that teachers working alone cannot envision by what steps, in what sequence, over what time, and with what anticipated difficulties they could implement them. Teachers find that "it's hard to keep a theory in your head" when embroiled in the daily realities of teaching. Without the regular opportunity for shared review and reflection, the work of applying, testing, and revising theory in practice in any systematic fashion assumes the dimensions of an impossible task.

Fourth, teachers claim that learning by experience is inevitably a process of learning by mistakes. Working alone, teachers may find it difficult to know if the "mistakes" they make arise from a failure of theory, strategy, or skill. One teacher suggests that "it would be easier to learn from mistakes if they were documented." Presumably, working with others, one might be able to sort out a misguided idea (theory) from a badly designed tactic (good theory, bad application) or a flawed execution (a failure of knowledge or skill).

Fifth, teachers and principal agree that the criterion for a good job is often no more than some evidence that things are going "smoothly." Yet it is not unlikely that efforts by a school or an individual to improve program and practice will have rough edges. Working alone, teachers may choose to abandon an attempt at new practice rather than risk some period of floundering that would become evident as students talked among themselves or to teachers, as people walked by the classroom door, or as administrators made periodic observations. Working together, teachers may expose some of the complexities and difficulties of the task in ways that build a tolerance for practice that is not entirely smooth, and whose effects may only become apparent over time.

Sixth, altering or expanding practice in any important way is likely to call for extensive preparation and planning. In a work situation where time is a jealously guarded resource, teachers are unwilling to commit long hours to prepare to test some idea whose worth is uncertain. One teacher, recalling a recent methods class, commented, "There were some worthwhile things, but so many of these ideas take so much preparation. You can work so hard on one lesson, and then if it bombs you've wasted your time." A teacher conducting a workshop on mastery learning observed that the preparation time required of teachers is extensive, and that many are reluctant to commit themselves.[1]

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[1] Judging by the experience observed in two other schools where mastery learning has been implemented, teachers working alone do face an almost overwhelming chore. Even though teachers comment that the long preparation pays off in easier and more rewarding classroom teaching, the job is still a discouraging prospect. When teachers did their preparation (curriculum units, lesson plans, tests, practice materials) in grade level or departmental teams, they completed the work cheerfully, with understanding and with apparent interest in trying it out in class. Teachers working alone seemed more confused about how to apply particular elements of theory, more dependent on instructors for assistance, more likely to design curriculum units that were too ambitious, more bogged down by the volume of work and the time required to do it--and less excited and pleased by their efforts.

Teachers learn from one another when they talk to each other regularly about curriculum, classroom instruction, materials, testing, and other matters of program and practice. Opportunities for regular, frequent talk focused on teaching practice spur teachers' interest, add to their individual sense of competence and confidence in the classroom, and generate high morale. One teacher recalls an arrangement in a previous school:

> T: Well, the way the department was set up it was very conducive to a lot of interaction. (There were) five or six of us in the department and the headquarters was a lab. And the lab was in between all of our classrooms and you could go in there between classes or during your planning period and so we got in the habit of doing that instead of going down to the teachers' lounge. . . . We talked a lot. . . . We all helped each other.

Teachers here report that there is not much regular talk of that sort at Springer, either within or between departments. They say, "We talk a little bit," though they predict that individual departments and the school as a whole would be strengthened if there were more:

> I: What about interactions within the building--in departments or across departments or whatever?
>
> T: It is minimal. Very little. Even within the department we don't share a great deal. And it is a pity.

And:

> T: We talk a little bit but . . . we lack leadership in our department. When I was department chairman I tried to hold meetings more regularly and talk about some of these things but then my turn was up. . .

By their own accounts, teachers miss four opportunities to pursue talk at work that is demonstrably tied to practice (as distinct from the foibles and failures of individual students, the pressures exerted by the district, the provisions of "the agreement," social life, or the unfortunate state of the society or the economy). First, they occupy themselves during department meetings with administrative business, reserving little or no time for discussion of curriculum or practice. Second, they report that teachers "clam up" in instruction committee meetings, leaving good ideas unspoken and unexplored in a public forum where (properly encouraged or pushed by administrators) teachers could forge agreements that accommodate diverse (and competing) interests. Third, teachers rarely use their time in the faculty lounge to raise issues of practice, to display any enthusiasm about what they may be learning, or to advocate that others consider a question or try an idea. Some teachers report that they are discouraged from such talk by the prevalence of "negative" talk among others. One teacher says, "There are a lot of complainers here, people who don't seem interested in new ideas." In this and other faculty lounges, talk heard as "complaint" proves effective in squelching other kinds of conversation. And fourth, teachers do not use (or have not been invited to use) inservice time to conduct what they refer to as "teacher work days."

By teachers' accounts, it appears that "learning on the job" would become a more integral part of work at Springer if teachers talked more frequently about topics more closely tied to practice. Staff development may forge a role here to the extent that outside resource people actually (1) engage in focused, extensive talk with teachers and (2) foster more talk among teachers or between teachers and administrators.

Teachers learn from observing others and from being observed. Teachers who observe others and who invite observation find that they expand their views of what is possible and increase their understanding of their own practice.[1] Praising the relatively regular and frequent opportunities he has had to observe others, one teacher summarized: "There's your inservice."

Still, observation is a rare practice among teachers at Springer. One teacher recalled that when she began teaching she expected to be "dropping in all the time to observe." She discovered quickly, however, that observation "was just not done" and now, eight years later, is herself "uncomfortable" having visitors in the classroom.

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[1] An example may serve to illustrate how teachers can influence others' practice by demonstrating possibilities in the course of ordinary classroom interaction. An instrumental music teacher tells of a visiting observer from another junior high school who was astounded to find the Springer teacher suspending whole-class practice periodically to concentrate on intensive work with one section or another. Claiming he was impressed but unable to imagine himself doing the same, the visitor protested, "If I worked just with the woodwinds, the rest of them would be swinging from the ceiling." Apparently, however, having seen it done and having discussed how it was managed, the visiting teacher began to entertain possibilities he had not even considered before. Over a period of months he began to introduce that practice until eventually, feeling some confidence in the approach, he in turn invited observation.

Still, she continues to claim that observation would be useful, "particularly in the first five years."[1]

Whatever their nervousness about being observed, teachers have high expectations and high standards for the analysis that should follow from observation. Their preference that observation be conducted "by invitation and not as a part of evaluation" does not preclude the possibility for thoughtful and thorough criticism. A teacher who has in the past been disappointed by shallow, unfocused feedback says emphatically, "I would really like to be criticized in a way that I know what I am doing wrong and right." Her comments, and others along similar lines, suggest that observation will be most useful where:

(1) Teachers and observers can agree in advance and in some level of detail on the focus of the observation. The most specific comments will fall on deaf or resentful ears if they reflect close attention to issues the teacher does not believe are central or pressing. Thus, a teacher who is curious about how to make the most gains in a heterogeneous classroom found herself angry when an observer's only specific response to her teaching was that "I say 'ok' too much." If teachers are to be satisfied, and if observers are to have the most favorable chance of presenting a thoughtful description and analysis, some shared preparation for the occasion seems essential.

(2) Observations are long enough, and occur regularly enough, to permit some thorough grasp of a teacher's practice and some view of progress over time. Recognizing that the kind of analysis that teachers are likely to find credible can only come with extended observation, the new principal at Springer ponders how such observation might be conducted to keep people comfortable. Noticing the strain that ensures when they enter a classroom, administrators tend to "look and leave." Yet administrators are the persons most often in a position to observe teachers and those who--by virtue of their obligations for evaluation--are in position to make the greatest gains in converting observation from a burden to an opportunity.

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[1] Several teachers stressed the importance of extensive observation in preparation for teaching and in the first years on the job. One might argue that the kinds of large-scale changes to which teachers here have been subjected (including desegregation) constitute the practical equivalent of a first year on the job in the uncertainties they introduce and the demands they place.

(3) Observers construct some sort of record, or evidence, upon which observations are based. Notes that record as faithfully as possible what was said and done during class can serve as the basis for subsequent analysis, interpretation, and recommendations. Teachers complain when they "can't tell where a criticism is coming from"; thus, the existence of a detailed record (one teacher was enthusiastic about videotape) might serve to place the teacher on a more equal "professional" footing with the observer as they both attend carefully to an actual record of practice.

To the extent that staff developers can conduct observations along these lines, or can prepare teachers and administrators to observe one another in this fashion,[1] they may exert influence on persons' practices here and upon their views of staff development.

Teachers learn from, with, and about one another when working as teams, groups, or departments. Teachers value the opportunity to work in teams with other teachers on topics of demonstrable relevance. A teacher who has participated on summer curriculum writing teams credits the contribution to the district but admits that the opportunity to work as part of a team with other teachers may have been more valuable than the specific product. This same teacher proposes that by paying departments rather than individuals to contribute to curriculum, the district could build commitment and interest in buildings while continuing to improve the overall district program and to reward good work by individuals.

Teachers value the accomplishments that might arise from greater cooperation within departments. They propose that more frequent collective efforts could upgrade the curriculum, could insure consistency across courses and grade levels, and could ease (rather than increase) the preparation burden on any single teacher. Several proposed that properly designed teacher work days could build teachers' interest in shared discussion and shared work on matters of practice. Presented with the opportunity to design such work sessions, rather than to "have a speaker," teachers predict: "People would volunteer--it's what we should be shooting for." Teachers specified several advance preparations to insure the best use of work days, and to curb the temptation to engage in a "general gripe session" or pursue a long list of scattered topics. They suggested that departments or groups:

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[1] Principals who have been trained in "clinical supervision" have been taught how to prepare anecdotal records of classroom interaction that then serve as the basis for their interpretations and recommendations. The observer's interpretations are discussed with the teacher during a conference. Drawing from teachers' views of proper observation and conference tactics, and keeping in mind the relatively limited resources of time and energy available to staff developers and administrators, one could argue for extending the clinical supervision technique one more step in order to prepare teachers to observe. Teachers' capabilities for observation and critique of their own and each other's practice could be expanded if the record of classroom interaction were independently analyzed and interpreted by teacher and observer prior to the conference.

(1) Decide on one or two topics for which persons could prepare.

(2) Decide on specific aims for the day's work.

(3) Decide on the use, if any, of outside resource people so that they could be properly briefed on the intended topics, the nature of the specific situations or curiosities that prompted those topics, the aims of the work session, and the intended role or contribution of the outsider.

(4) Make explicit the intent that the day be conducted as a collaborative work session.

By these accounts, staff development can anticipate an expanded role at Springer if it assists teachers and administrators in conducting collaborative work within and across departments of precisely the sort described here by teachers.

Learning From Outsiders

Teachers learn from outsiders who are properly informed and informing, and who collaborate with teachers and administrators as fellow professionals. Springer, like most schools, receives occasional visits from resource people, curriculum teams, consultants, speakers, specialists, or other "outsiders" who arrive with intent to help. Their presence has led teachers to give some thought to ways that outsiders could prove most useful.

Outsiders can contribute a perspective that arises out of immersion in current theory, research, and practice. They presumably draw from a range of reading that no classroom teacher has the time or resources to pursue, and from an array of observed practices accumulated through visits to a large number of schools. Teachers are willing to defer to the knowledge of outsiders who might contribute insight that teachers cannot gain by standing as close to practice as they do; they expect, in turn, that the claims that are made or the advice that is offered will be well founded in current research, theory, and prevailing practice. (One teacher complained when the advice she got from a visiting observer was indistinguishable from the arguments made by her old college textbooks.)

In practice, observers may be called upon to weigh the contributions and judge the implications of various theories in light of research and practice; to pass on summaries of current research, with some attempt to illustrate practical application; to provide materials; or to develop an inventory of scenarios that illustrate in detail a set of tactics for addressing recurring situations or problems. In practice, too, outsiders are expected to lead teachers or administrators to sources by which they can independently explore particular ideas or pursue particular interests. Teachers look to district-level departments to inform them regularly about special seminars and conferences that could provide informal association with others and access to specific ideas, methods, and materials. They are disappointed when the infrequent district-wide department meetings "don't serve even a rudimentary purpose of letting people know what's going on in the district." In their work with schools, then, outsiders have an obligation to be *properly informed;* teachers and administrators have a parallel obligation to help formulate questions or issues that are focused enough to guide outsiders' preparations and presentations.

Outsiders can observe teachers or administrators without endangering them. Teachers characterize this as "observing without evaluating," yet they clearly admit the possibility of rather stringent criticism. A more accurate statement of these views might be that they call for an evaluation of *practices* that does not thereby place *persons* in jeopardy (or damage their self-respect). Outsiders contribute to teachers' and administrators' work when they organize descriptions, analyses, interpretations, and evaluations of practice that concentrate on mutually defined criteria for good practice (what to look for) and that are concrete enough to build understanding and guide practice. Observers are subject to complaint when they present feedback that is too general in areas teachers want to examine, or when they present very specific advice in areas teachers believe to be trivial or peripheral. (Thus, one teacher complained that she gained nothing from an observer that helped her in organizing a very heterogeneous classroom, and was treated only to "nitpicking" comments on matters of style: "He said that I say 'ok' too much.") In this aspect of their work, then, outsiders are under obligation to be *properly informing;* teachers and administrators have the parallel obligation to engage in (if necessary, to insist upon) discussion with observers in advance of the observation that will lay the ground for careful description and thoughtful analysis.

Outsiders are welcomed by teachers and administrators when their language and their demeanor convey an intent to work with people and not on them. One teacher summarized this as "not intimidating"; an administrator characterized the stance as one of "resource person, not expert." The reciprocity required by this view is sustained not only by intent but by the organization of shared work. Collaborative work sessions for which all parties have prepared in advance stand a better chance, in teachers' eyes, of striking the proper tone than do lectures--even lectures followed by small group discussion. In this regard, outsiders and school personnel have the obligation to be *properly reciprocal* in their relations with one another, and properly deferent in their treatment of one another's knowledge, experience, and skill.

IV. SUMMARY

Teachers and administrators at Springer have detailed work as they find it in city schools and have outlined those interactions and arrangements that most readily support continued improvement. They describe work in city schools as a demanding, difficult, and ever-changing situation in which the best of their individual resources seem not quite enough. Becoming (and remaining) competent is no easy chore, and partnership with others is valued. On the whole, teachers and administrators alike claim that they work with greater confidence and satisfaction when their ordinary work life is organized to permit them to see, talk about, and work with others on the business of teaching and learning. By these observations, staff here offer insight into the relatively limited role that staff development has played in this school in its first six years and into the kinds of influence that might yet be felt.

First, staff development can anticipate influence here to the extent that it provides for shared talk and shared work with teachers and administrators on matters of program and practice. In this respect, staff development must demonstrate or enact the kinds of collegial practices that teachers and administrators credit as being properly professional.

Second, staff development can anticipate influence to the extent that it systematically and by design seeks opportunities to expand shared talk and shared work among teachers (within and across departments) and between administrators and teachers. In this respect, staff development supports continuous improvement by promoting and assisting the kinds of collegial practices that teachers and administrators believe would strengthen this school.

PARK HIGH SCHOOL

230

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION 112

II. VIEWS OF WORK AT PARK HIGH SCHOOL 113

III. LEARNING ON THE JOB: VIEWS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT 122

ISSUES OF INFLUENCE: WHO DESIGNS AND CONDUCTS PROGRAMS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT 123

ISSUES OF RELEVANCE 127

OTHER INFLUENCES ON TEACHERS' VIEWS: THE ROLE OF THE DISTRICT 131

ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT 133
- Past Experiences 133
- New Developments 134

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT 145

IV. SUMMARY 148

I. INTRODUCTION

Park High School is an inner city school whose several strengths have been generally obscured by a persistent record of low achievement and a high rate of dropout. The school's new principal credits Park with a capable faculty, an outstanding vocational education program, easy rapport among groups of students and between students and faculty, and solid community support. Yet these virtues have been generally invisible within the district as a whole. Park has not enjoyed the kind of prestige or recognition that may spur teachers to expand their knowledge and their skills and that may make them enthusiastic initiators of or participants in programs of improvement. One administrator with more than twenty years' service in the district claims that Park has "always had a kind of black cloud hanging over its head."

Under the persistent black cloud, neither students nor teachers have placed much faith in (or directed substantial effort to) dramatic gains. The atmosphere here is "relaxed but complacent." The faculty, according to many, has been "in a kind of rut." The students "are really nice [but] they're just kind of stumbling through three years of high school saying, 'Well, I'm hispano, or I'm black, or I'm poor, I come from the projects. What hope do I have?'"[1]

Two reasonably large-scale investments in staff development programs have made little appreciable dent in the outlook of teachers or students. A two-year collaborative program of teacher training conducted by a university-based Teacher Corps program won the admiration of teachers by its willingness to work directly in the school over a long period of time, but no one claims widespread effects on teachers' practices. More recently, a district-sponsored Instructional Improvement Program drew the participation of thirty-two teachers (almost one-third of the faculty) but left most of them unpersuaded that the ideas and methods advocated in the program were appropriate to secondary schools. Nonparticipating teachers were struck more forcibly by the criticisms of returning teachers who were disappointed and angered than by the commendations of those few teachers who thought the approaches worth trying.

Now, under the leadership of a new principal, Park is witnessing a degree of change. Teachers claim that faculty morale is higher and student interests and commitment more apparent. Interviews are threaded with contrasts, as teachers and administrators distinguish past from present and point to an emerging sense that accomplishments are possible.

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[1] The school's student population is relatively homogeneous in a socioeconomic sense, though it is mixed ethnically (27 percent Anglo, 65 percent Hispanic, 4 percent Black, 4 percent Oriental, 1 percent American Indian). By some accounts, the prevailing sense that this is a "low income school" is a major contributor to teachers' low expectations for student performance.

In the discussion that follows, we have drawn upon interviews with teachers and administrators[1] at Park, and upon observations in classrooms, to make four arguments. First, the character of work relations among teachers and between teachers and administrators here has fostered a kind of autonomy and independence that narrowly circumscribes the role and impact of staff development programs. Second, attempted programs of staff development, while promising in several respects, proved ineffective in promoting their value and practice. Third- the new principal's campaign to the value and practice. Third, the new principal's campaign to "shoot for the best" may serve to cultivate precisely those expectations and interactions inside the school that are conducive to continuous improvement and that support an active role for staff development. And last, we outline a potential role for staff development at Park that relies heavily on collaborative arrangements with the principal and other members of the administrative team.

II. VIEWS OF WORK AT PARK HIGH SCHOOL

A view of learning on the job has been built and confirmed by the work situation that teachers encounter day by day.

Teachers at Park participate in a "tacit agreement to leave each other alone." Asked about interactions with fellow teachers, one department chairman replied, "Well, I don't know much about them. I don't bother them and they don't bother me." Still another added that he doesn't consider other teachers "much of my business," and a third observed that "each teacher does what he or she wants." One teacher summarized: "Teachers here are independent."

What this means in practice is that teachers here do not talk to each other regularly and in detail about the business of teaching; they do not observe each other's teaching directly (though they do form impressions); and they do not work together as departments, groups, or teams on matters of program or practice.[1]

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[1] Individual interviews were conducted with eighteen teachers, a group interview was conducted with another five department and committee chairmen, and informal conversations on topics related to the study were held with six other teachers. In all, this accounts for slightly less than a third of the faculty. Observations were made in sixteen classrooms, covering eight departments. Interviews were also conducted with one counselor and all four members of the administrative team; observations of administrators' work included a one-day "shadow" of the principal.

Prevailing practices reflect a stance of *mutual independence*. According to teachers and administrators here, that stance has had several side effects.

First, mutual independence inside the school has placed collegial (interdependent) practices outside the orindary work day. Teachers who do value and practice extensive discussion with colleagues, observation in others' classrooms, and shared work on curriculum or course design tend to do so elsewhere.[2] Thus, one person says that he "breaks the isolation" at Park by involving himself in the kinds of activities that bring him into contact with teachers in other schools. Another teacher "talks constantly" to others in his field who are teaching in other secondary schools; he uses educational leave days to attend conferences and meetings that bring him into contact with others, and takes every opportunity to see others at work with students. Others look to workshops, classes, meetings, and special activities (e.g., competitive speech events, citywide musical activities) as occasions to find out what others are trying.

> T: And see, the speech coaches are forced to meet every Saturday all day. We are together all day long. So every once in a while we naturally speak of teaching, and this works, and that works.

---

[1] By teachers' accounts, this is the prevailing pattern at Park. There are, predictably, some exceptions and variations. Members of the art department report that they have "gone on a campaign to become a viable department" in the face of declining enrollments and have accordingly shifted from competition to cooperation. (According to one person, they used to "confiscate" one another's materials.) A teacher in the business education department describes his department as helpful and cooperative. Other department members lent materials, discussed classroom approaches, and offered moral support when he arrived at Park with no experience in city schools; and to this day he turns to them to explore possible classroom uses of new materials or methods.

[2] There are, too, some teachers who state preferences for more collegial interactions but find those preferences unmatched by practices they encounter anywhere in their ordinary work. One teacher who has observed the regularity with which special program people (often federally funded) meet as groups says: "Some of these government [special program] people, they get together every month and I don't really know what they talk about but I am sometimes envious because I think maybe at that meeting they are talking about what works in my classroom, what works in yours. Why don't we try this? Why don't we try that? . . . and it is not stealing ideas."

A member of a federally funded reading lab program describes a more structured occasion--a districtwide meeting precisely organized around topics of instruction:

> T: We meet once a month. And usually we have planned a topic that we discuss. This next month we are going to meet on two days and the topic is testing and evaluating, and mostly evaluating the progress we have made and the progress the students have made.

Undertaken in this fashion, collegial practices that contribute to some teachers' knowledge and practice are largely invisible to the faculty as a whole. Even teachers who routinely engage in talk with other teachers, or who work together on shared projects, tend to be unaware that some of their fellow teachers at Park are doing the same thing--and finding it rewarding. One teacher muses, "They say you get educational leave days, but to my knowledge it's never been done," while two other teachers (one of them in the same department) report that they regularly use educational leave days to observe in other schools. Further, shared work with others outside the building (i.e., outside the course of ordinary, daily work) is simply too infrequent to exert much influence on teachers' perspectives and practices. Department chairmen who cite district-level meetings (and the association with others that they permit) as one of the advantages of that position nonetheless complain that meetings held twice a year make little difference.

Second, mutual independence permits or encourages a certain sustained ignorance about existing practice. Teachers do not know with any degree of precision or assurance what others do; and they have only the most limited means of gaining insight into the worth of their own classroom practices.

> T_1: What you do in your own classroom, nobody knows too much about.
>
> T_2: I don't know what other teachers do because I haven't been able to observe them.

Individuals report that they know little about one another's views of teaching, experiences in the classroom, curiosities about recurring problems or difficulties in mastering new situations. Teachers, even within the same department, say they know little about how others' courses are designed and taught. Members of some departments commented that they have no established routines for insuring program coherence and continuity across courses, grade levels, or disciplines.

> T: I think this entire school is totally fragmented. What has happened in the history department has no correlation or relationship to what has happened in the English department. And it should. . . . There should be total coordination.

> Each teacher does whatever he or she wishes. So the person who has the AP [advanced placement] English as seniors has no idea what the students have had in the past. This is wrong.

Supported as it is by limitations on shared talk, observation, or preparation, this independence frustrates analysis of one's own or others' practices. By one account, teachers' only clues to their own effectiveness are whether students sign up for their classes, attend them regularly, and fare reasonably well on tests. A teacher who has been struggling to strengthen her teaching says she has "no way to test the effects on kids."

In this fashion, teachers' accomplishments or teachers' difficulties are rendered somewhat mysterious, giving rise to the rather prevalent notion that "good teachers are born, not made."[1] In the absence of detailed knowledge, and in the absence of the kind of focused discussion that would reveal commonalities of practice, teachers are uncertain what there is to admire in or learn from others.

Third, mutual independence restricts teachers' influence over consequential matters of program and practice. It places limits on teachers' latitude to innovate in classroom practice, and on their ability to obtain leverage on areas of school life that affect school success but are beyond the ability of individual teachers to alter.

Teachers remark that innovation and experimentation occur exclusively in individual classrooms. The decision to experiment turns out to be a matter of individual preference; success in experimentation rests heavily on an individual's knowledge, skill, perseverence, and some measure of good luck. By teachers' accounts, they have attempted a variety of practices to accommodate the peculiar demands and circumstances of city schools. For example, one teacher organized two of his courses to permit individually-paced work; his approach was a direct response to high absenteeism, which made continuity in instruction difficult. Having individualized the work, he found that attendance increased in those classes. Apparently, students who had been out of class one or two days were more willing to return to class when they were certain where they stood with the work. Another teacher is working to upgrade the reading lab program to include "transition" activities in writing or discussion that will offer students practice in the skills they will need to participate competently in regular English classes.

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[1] This view is expressed relatively frequently here. Curiously, in schools or among groups of teachers who work together regularly to describe, analyze, and improve practice, the view gains less currency. Teachers who have some detailed grasp of their own and others' practice, and a detailed and shared language for describing and analyzing it, seem to attribute a smaller part of their accomplishments to "magic" and a larger part to learned classroom approaches that can be seen, described, and taught.

Nonetheless, the prevailing stance of independence at Park makes it difficult for teachers to assess the worth of any particular idea or method, and to assess the boundaries of permissible innovation. In the absence of frequent and detailed talk about practice, individual teachers have limited ground on which to judge whether an idea is worth pursuing or to judge the extent to which it is a departure from present practice. One teacher found that the programs she attempted and the demands she unintentionally placed on others in her first year or two on the job seriously jeopardized her relations with other teachers:

> T: Because, you see, if no one is doing anything and you start doing things, pretty soon they go, "You're showing us up." . . . And nobody taught me how to get along. They just expected you to know it. But I didn't know these things and I just climbed through the bushes and the trees and I left devastation everywhere, and a lot of anger. And it took me three years to overcome that. . . . So I did make a lot of enemies.

Along similar lines, another teacher claimed that it was "difficult to know what the rules were until you'd broken one." A third adds that it is difficult to get a "building concept," and that after several years in the building she is still uncertain of her peers both personally and professionally. In making decisions about innovation, teachers understand that "independence" does not protect them from the scrutiny of others. Altogether, this poses something of a dilemma for the teacher interested in pushing toward greater achievement.

Some practices that teachers have found effective in increasing attendance and improving performance are unlikely to have broad impact on school success unless widely used. For example, some teachers, counselors, and administrators observed that to generate an appreciable improvement in schoolwide performance would require a shift in *shared* expectations for what students can and should achieve; their comments call for some collective examination of what precisely is legitimate and effective under the rubric of help:

> C: You know, I am going to "help" these poor children by giving them everything that they want. That is not helping. If a kid puts his head down on his desk, you have to go over to him right away and say, 'What is the problem? If you are sleepy, if you need to go see the nurse, go. If not, perk up and listen'. . . and they will get angry for a while. But if you handle it right, they will come back. . . . I think you can help the kids without insulting them.

> Counselors in this school so far have not had those expectations for kids. It was always getting them through the one hundred fifty required hours and as long as they had the minimum of the general requirements then they could do whatever they wanted. The number one kid in the graduating class this year is taking three classes and it makes me furious.
>
> A lot of counselors think that we hold these kids' hands too much. And they do, but they hold them in the wrong way. If a person is having trouble in a class, they hold their hand by getting them out of the class without failure, as opposed to going and talking to the teacher.

Nonetheless, teachers believe that the decision to employ any particular method is properly the right of individual teachers acting alone. One relative newcomer to the building said, "You learn very quickly that you don't infringe on how other teachers teach." Mutual independence thus promotes a certain mutual tolerance; teachers are relatively powerless to influence the adoption of practices by others.

Mutual tolerance is buttressed by claims that differences in practice are merely differences in style or "philosophy." By this view, such differences are inconsequential for the present lives or future prospects of students, and thus not properly subject to scrutiny or debate. Teachers who stress "pushing instruction right up to the bell" and others who are "easy-going" and end the class as much as twenty minutes early coexist here with no concerted attempt to examine or judge the relative effects of the two contrasting practices. Teachers who are less certain that simple variety in style adds up to strength control few resources for making their case. Department chairmen have some limited say in matters of scheduling, but little or no influence over what is taught or how. They tend to view their position as largely clerical, saying that it "brings no glory." Open debate about the relative merits of various practices, or about their implications for achievement and equity is unpracticed, leaving teachers or administrators to fall back on isolated complaint:

> T_1: We end up reteaching stuff we shouldn't have to.
>
> T_2: The bilingual/bicultural bureaucracy seems to be absolutely destructive because in a sense they force the students to stay at the same level. . . . They are given credit for these little stupid courses. They are never put in situations, well, they are never mainstreamed and so as a result they do not make friends with regular students here. They hear English, if any, perhaps one hour a day, at the most two. They speak to each other in their own language. They have a little ghetto setup. . . . To me it is academically indefensible to keep them away from mainstreaming . . . but what can

> you do about it? You have complained and nothing happens.

In consequence, practices that may hold some promise for improving overall school success fail to be tested on a scale large enough for effects to emerge.

In addition, teachers encounter certain questions, curiosities, or problems that cannot readily be addressed without the shared interest or assistance of others. They can envision some projects that would contribute to the overall quality of the school program, but that require the combined talents and time of several people working together.

> T: All right. As far as our own department. Randall is an expert in film and contemporary lit. Martha, across the hall, is a very good formal educationalist. She is a traditionalist. Now she in conjunction with Randall could write a brilliant curriculum for the English department.

In some instances, the line of work proposed by a teacher requires extensive preparation and planning. The collective efforts of a department or team would ease the burden and make it more likely that good ideas would be initiated and pursued:

> T_1: The idea thing that I see . . . we could perhaps do more to develop a realistic unit in our program for the students who speak a language other than English. And I think we are equipped to do that [but] it is a lot of extra time and it is really difficult to get another person working with you who will be willing to put that time into it."

> T_2: We're changing our testing to reduce cultural bias. The question is, "How can we come up with an unbiased test for a multicultural environment?" Will someone be willing? No, they don't even know how. But maybe they'd be willing if they were given the time and some help.

In sum, whatever the cumulative effects of individual teachers working alone, there appear to be some accomplishments that require collaborative effort and collective commitment; such accomplishments are made more tenuous by a stance of mutual independence.

Fourth, mutual independence forces teachers to rely almost exclusively on their own resources in mastering new assignments, changing situations, or simply managing the persistent requirements of doing a good job.

Teachers agree that there is no substitute for classroom experience in learning to teach. "You can't prepare someone to do X in a class or an inservice. You have to be confronted with it." Thus, they try out various materials, explanations, or tests of progress and they observe as closely as they can the effects on students' interest and achievement. Persistent experimentation, in the eyes of one teacher, is what keeps teachers from making "false generalizations" and falling too readily into complacency. All in all, the value of classroom experience is undisputed as a means by which teachers learn to teach.[1]

Less clear, and more open to dispute among teachers here, is the value of learning *alone*; in work situations that foster mutual independence, "learning by experience" becomes in practice "learning on your own." Faced with demanding and difficult circumstances of the sort teachers portray in city schools, rigorous experimentation takes a back seat to sheer survival: "learning by the seat of your pants," in the words of one teacher. Teachers who have struggled to learn entirely on their own take a certain pride in their accomplishments, but regard them nonetheless as having been achieved with some difficulty:

> T: The first year I started teaching I had not read any of the books that were to be covered in the English classes. So I was preparing my class a day in advance and I did not know enough about teaching skills so that when I walked into the classroom I had something in hand to work with. And then besides classroom climate you also had to do all of the administrative paper work.

By contrast, teachers speak with some enthusiasm of situations in which classroom experience was complemented and amplified by daily interactions with other teachers and with administrators.[2] One person recalls:

> T: As a first year teacher, I started in a junior high where there was tremendous administrator support and a very good coordinator who would say, "Here, try this." The principal was open and friendly. The faculty was cohesive and there was a feeling of belonging. People would sit and share ideas. The attitude was, 'We'll help any way we can.' When people came in to observe, you knew it was meant as support.

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[1] And typically, teachers here are confident in their ability to learn from their classroom experience. Of the summary descriptive statements about "learning on the job," one-fifth describe learning directly with and from students in classrooms. Of these, the vast majority (71 percent) give favorable descriptions of the contributions made to teachers' confidence and competence as a result of classroom practice.

[2] Over one-third of teachers' summary statements about "learning on the job" refer to occasions of learning from and with teachers or administrators.

In the view of administrators and numerous teahcers here, there are excellent teachers on the faculty whose overall impact is marginal because they learn on their own, neither seeking nor achieving broader influence among their peers. The principal estimates that 90 percent of the strong teachers in the building operate as "loners."

> P: Randall is an example. He is a strong teacher and he has some good ideas and he just goes off on his own and learns some things without asking anyone for money or time off or whatever. He does it because it makes his job more interesting and more challenging . . . but he is 'without honor in his own land.' There is not a whole lot of communication [here] . . . but he is very well accepted by other buildings.

Thus, while continuous improvement and a concern for better instruction are characteristic of many teachers here, they do not systematically or visibly inform the day-to-day relations among teachers.

By teachers' accounts, the implications of learning on one's own are these:

> Teachers have good incentive to claim satisfaction with the status quo. They move quickly to arrive at a level of competence that permits them to get through the day with some confidence. Continuous efforts to refine skills and achieve greater influence may appear burdensome and the rewards uncertain.
>
> Teachers have few resources for analysis and reflection that would guide continuous improvement. Pressed by day-to-day requirements, teachers gain little or no practice in the thoughtful description and analysis of situations. (One teacher who is attempting a new approach remarks that she will have to wait until the end of the school year to reflect on how it has gone.) Working alone, teachers find progress hard to judge and next steps hard to determine. Though they are sensitive to whether or not something "works," it seems not always clear whether a classroom "flop" stems from a poor idea, a bad strategy for implementing it, or inadequate skill or practice to carry it off successfully on the first try.
>
> Teachers come to adopt the stance that inservice education, or any form of deliberate "learning on the job," is the province of the beginning teacher or the teacher placed in a new or unfamiliar situation. Teachers who are experienced, teaching courses in their principal field, are expected to exhibit a skill and confidence consonant with their immersion in the work. Quite apart from the implications of this stance for staff development (i.e., the issue of resistance or reluctance among experienced teachers), there are certain

> implications for the day-to-day relations among teachers. There is some evidence, as teachers talk, that the tolerance for problems, difficulties, confusion, or awkward trial and error that they show toward a new teacher is simply not extended to their more experienced colleagues except under recognizably extraordinary circumstances. To the extent that attempting new ideas and new methods in the classroom will lead an experienced teacher to require assistance, or to give the appearance of "having problems," this stance of working and learning alone serves to inhibit experimentation and innovation.

Formal programs of staff development call for teachers or administrators to learn from and with others and to work with others in examining present practices in some systematic fashion. By teachers' accounts, informal "learning on the job" proceeds best when it is organized in much the same fashion, permitting shared discussion and shared work among colleagues. Quite apart from the design and conduct of actual staff development programs, however, routine work interactions at Park High School leave teachers relatively unpracticed in work with others, in collective efforts to lend close scrutiny to present practice, and in collective efforts to test new ideas or methods. On the whole, Park has not constituted a setting easily conducive to the influence of staff development.

III. LEARNING ON THE JOB: VIEWS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Teachers at Park High School do not place a great deal of faith in formal programs of staff development.[1] Properly designed and conducted, staff development programs sponsored by the district or universities may attract the willing participation of high school teachers (though some teachers profess that experienced staff simply do not need it). Badly designed or clumsily conducted, such programs have the effect of "turning people off," eroding any interest and commitment they might have had and discouraging their future investment in similar efforts. To older, experienced faculty of the sort that populate high schools in urban schools, "credit and pay no longer make up for irrelevance." With few exceptions, teachers' accounts of staff development here are stories of failure--failure to capture teachers' interests, to address their curiosities, to offer analyses that are properly rigorous, or recommendations that are properly "practical."

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[1] Almost one-third of teachers' descriptions of "learning on the job" refer to participation in some type of formal program, ranging from university classes to district-sponsored training sessions. Of these, however, only one-quarter characterize formal involvement in favorable terms. Almost half (49 percent) of the comments dwell on various deficiencies that teachers have found in formal programs. The remaining comments address themselves to improvements that teachers would favor (18 percent) or to forms and functions that teachers do not believe should be attempted by staff development (9 percent).

Flaws in the design and conduct of staff development are perhaps more easily spotted than they are understood or remedied. Certainly two of the more recent and large-scale staff development ventures at Park were thoughtfully designed and conscientiously conducted. To say that these efforts have gone awry is not to lay blame for sloppy work, though certainly teachers have encountered such instances. Rather, as one administrator observed, the urban high school as a workplace is complex; if a change strategy is to be mounted successfully, "there's a lot to understand." Teachers' descriptions, even when cast as criticisms, offer some insight into the shape that staff development must assume if it is to attract participation and prompt changes in teachers' views and practices.

ISSUES OF INFLUENCE: WHO DESIGNS AND CONDUCTS PROGRAMS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT?

Almost without exception, teachers have described their participation in programs of staff development that have been conceived, designed, and conducted by others: counselors, administrators, or outside "experts." Almost without exception, these same teachers voice a preference for work that they themselves have a hand in initiating, developing, and conducting.[1]

Teachers' comments should not be construed to mean that they believe themselves to have a monopoly on good ideas; they do credit and value the demonstrated knowledge and skill of others. In turn, they look for evidence that others credit their knowledge and experience when designing and organizing programs of staff development.

Teachers usually describe their preferred role in the design of inservice education as "having input." The image is one of being consulted; teachers expect that their preferences will be taken into account. They complain when they must "come and sit and listen" to presentations on topics remote from their daily practice and from what they consider their central obligations as teachers.[1] Asked his impression of why secondary school teachers appear particularly resistant to staff development, Park's principal, Dr. Abeyta, speculated:

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[1] Teachers' disinterest in inservices is often taken as evidence that they are uncommitted to improving their instruction. And in truth, we encountered some teachers at Park who declared themselves satisfied with their own work, sometimes in the face of inattentive and poorly performing students. Nevertheless, there were numerous teachers who displayed considerable enthusiasm for projects of improvement. One teacher submitted to the principal a six-page set of notes outlining collaborative work in the building that could contribute to improved academic performance.

> P: I think because the teachers don't have any input into whatever the topic is. Therefore they have no commitment. Nobody has looked at any creative alternatives to staff development. As an example, look at the math department here. If they all have eighth period common planning period, I have some control over that. If we could come up with some small modules, blocks of time, of staff development that would be ongoing for X number of days, and it was part of their day, I'd think you'd have more response.

Nonetheless, teachers do outline topics on which they would willingly work and around which they would willingly engage the assistance of experts:

> T: There again, I should be given training on how to teach English as a foreign language or how to teach practical English. We do have experts in the city. Why couldn't they run workshops that I could take in the summer? . . .
>
> We should have methods courses, . . . like Methodology of Teaching the Young Adult Novel to the Inner-City Student. Totally practical. A course like how to teach writing skills to inner-city students.

Teachers here can generate some enthusiasm for using inservice time to organize workshops within departments, or among departments for work on specific projects. They find it difficult to envision topics that are uniformly relevant to teachers across *all* departments and programs; thus, the practice of polling teachers for acceptable topics for all-school inservice meetings produces massive disinterest. (Apparently, such whole-school occasions are viewed with enough indifference by teachers that the powerful building committee makes little attempt to sustain any control beyond submitting a list of acceptable topics. The subsequent arrangements for the inservice and development of the topic fall to administrators and counselors. Presumably, if the occasion were one that teachers considered central to their own interests, the building committee would insist on remaining involved in the development of the idea and the organization of the staff development work.)

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[1] There is an established procedure in buildings and in the district by which teachers are polled for topics around which inservice programs can be organized. Judging by teachers' and administrators' comments, that procedure does not serve in all cases to make teachers feel adequately consulted. In most events, there is an inevitable and large distance between a "topic" as teachers envision it when they add it to a list and the subsequent development of that topic in an inservice presentation. That distance is widened and the problem compounded in secondary schools, where sheer organizational size and complexity add to the challenge of treating any topic with proper specificity and depth.

Teachers' interest and commitment is fostered by clear agreement on the broad topic, on the perspectives or ideas that guide the work, and on some practical focus for talk and action. The longer the proposed involvement and the more demanding the projected investment by teachers, the more critical it appears that such agreements be forged before the work begins. The Teacher Corps project may have foundered precisely on this point. Teacher Corps staff negotiated a partnership with building administrators, who found the ideas attractive and the prospect of an extended collaboration promising. But teachers were not a part of that negotiation, and opposed the project when finally informed about it. In the face of their opposition, Teacher Corps staff spent two years trying to cultivate alliances with teachers by "listening a lot to teachers and being understanding of their concerns." Although it would be overstating the case to claim that teachers' involvement in the original negotiation would have insured an effect, that negotiation nonetheless offered an opportunity to stake out territory for shared work with teachers. Teacher Corps staff could have used the preliminary discussions as the occasion for demonstrating their responsiveness and displaying their understanding, at the same time that they sought clear agreement on some set of ideas that they wished to preserve through the course of their work at Park.

If one takes seriously teachers' recurring complaints that staff development programs fail to credit their extensive knowledge, skill, and experience, one might argue for a somewhat stronger formulation than is captured by the phrase "having input." It is possible to imagine a set of practices by which teachers, administrators, and others would operate under a parallel set of obligations[1] with respect to staff development. By design, the staff development sequence would require the expertise of all parties. Proposers of an idea or program--whoever they might be[1]--would have the obligation to describe a line of work with sufficient precision that all relevant others could discover points of agreement or disagreement, and could make an informed judgment about their participation. Others to whom the proposal is made--whoever they may be--would in turn have the obligation to award serious consideration to the worth and relevance of ideas, the required investment of time and resources, the proposed sequence of work, and the intended contributions of the various participants.

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[1] Teachers' comments occasionally revealed the asymmetry of the present relationships. One person claimed, "I'm not averse to new ideas, but so far no one has produced." By pushing teachers' claims to "input" several steps further, one can envision a symmetrical relationship in which the burden (or challenge) of "producing" and testing new ideas falls equally on staff development and on teachers or administrators.

Inferring from teachers' stated preferences, a collaborative procedure of the sort described here would have these accomplishments:

> It would reflect in *practice* the belief that staff development is work among fellow professionals, all of whom are knowledgeable and experienced. By teachers' accounts, they are placed in a reactive and relatively powerless stance when ideas are simply "brought in from the outside." "Even if someone came in with the best idea in the world they would send him away," according to one teacher. Lecture-style presentations are a frequent target of teachers' complaints, in part because they offer no opportunity for teachers to "act like professionals." Situational reciprocity, quite apart from the objective merits of an idea or program is at stake here.
>
> It would offer the best possible chance that staff development would prove adequate to the complexities of an urban school. Teachers typically do not believe that staff development conceived, designed, and carried out by others can possibly take into account the situational complexities that a teacher will face in putting ideas into practice. Proceeding in more reciprocal fashion, teachers' practice is informed by the theoretical, research, and practical developments that staff development contributes; and new ideas are informed in practice by teachers' immersion in the real life of a school. In effect, promising ideas can be awarded fair and serious trial.
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> It would insure that intended work was relevant to the diverse interests and requirements of various departments, grade levels, groups, or programs.

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[1] This arrangement admits the possibility that schools could propose a line of collaborative work to universities or to district staff development personnel, that teachers could propose joint work with each other or administrators, that administrators could propose collaboration with teachers, and so on. This scenario is complicated by teachers' felt obligation to participate in programs as a favor to (or in fear of) administrators; teachers claim that decisions are often negotiated on bureaucratic and political grounds rather than around issues of substantive merit and shared aims.

In all, it appears that a qualitative shift in the approach to designing and conducting staff development work directly in schools[1] could have the effect of (1) building among faculty and administration a shared language for the discussion and development of ideas and a set of habits for shared work; and (2) building a commitment to "staff development" as the selective and occasional partnership with outsiders for the achievement of shared (or at least complementary) aims.

ISSUES OF RELEVANCE

Staff development is judged by its ability to touch persuasively and credibly on the recurring issues and questions that teachers encounter, to capture the "reality" of the situations they manage, and to add to the confidence and competence with which they meet the central obligations of their work. These are issues of relevance.

First, teachers expect the guiding ideas, assumptions, or "theory" to be well founded, well supported in research and practice, and well articulated as a set of working principles that lend themselves to ready translation in the classroom. Teachers here who have credited staff development programs with influence on their practice have stressed the set of core concepts from which they can continue to derive a set of practical applications. Several teachers credited the Teacher Corps' development of a "win-win" concept with altering their perspective on classroom interactions. A teacher who participated in the eight-day Instructional Improvement Program claims that her instruction in Bloom's taxonomy and her introduction to the principles of mastery learning have led her to revise her way of beginning and conducting each class, and her methods of testing. A thorough presentation of theory, it appears, creates an opportunity for teachers to discover among themselves or with others those key ideas or assumptions on which they can agree. If it is true that any good theory can be reflected in or tested by a relatively broad range of practices, agreements on matters of theory generate considerable flexibility in discussion of practice.

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[1] Clearly not all staff development work will proceed in this fashion. Teachers will continue to participate in courses or short-term classes outside the school where the prospects for meeting the terms of a reciprocal approach are fewer. Judging from teachers' accounts, however, any staff development that takes place *in the school*, and that is intended to exert some collective, schoolwide influence, will be demonstrably enhanced to the degree that it achieves reciprocity. A token wave of the hand to teachers' expertise will not satisfy that requirement; a set of arrangements that unescapably requires the contributions of all parties is at issue.

Judging by some of the examples offered by teachers, some of the disputes over "philosophy" are in fact arguments about appropriate tactics that ensue precisely because underlying assumptions or ideas have remained unspoken and unexamined.[1] One teacher, for example, complained that he found it inappropriate to "cuddle kids along" by giving them A's for effort. The theoretical issue here, though not explicitly acknowledged, revolves around students' attachments to school and their commitment to achievement. Presumably, the argument is that teachers' efforts to credit students' accomplishments, no matter how modest, will help to forge those attachments and expand students' commitment to doing good (better) work.

Second, teachers expect that ideas will be expressed or illustrated as concrete practices. Thus, theories that trace school performance in part to students' self-esteem and sense of belonging are made "practical" by advising teachers to praise students for good work and clear effort. Theories that trace classroom attentiveness and performance to the clarity with which teachers formulate and convey their expectations are made "practical" by advising teachers to say or write the day's objective at the beginning of class. Still, the frequency with which teachers discount particular advice as being "silly," "stupid," "childish," "inappropriate," or "clichéd" suggests that mere concreteness is not enough to meet teachers' criteria for fully practical ideas.

A third requirement of relevance, then, is that practical advice or illustrations reflect familiarity with the full range of complexities, demands, and requirements that teachers themselves must juggle when putting any idea into practice. The presentation of practice must reflect a view of the work situation that teachers or administrators find recognizable. Thus, teachers expect that discussions of "making kids feel successful" will attend to the simultaneous pressure to "maintain standards." They expect that if practices have been tested in special education settings with ten students, some persuasive test ought to be proposed for a classroom with thirty-five students. In effect, teachers look for some serious effort to address the question: By what set of practices can the intent of the idea be preserved and the obligations--sometimes competing obligations--of the job be met?

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[1] There is some evidence that the repeated attacks on presentations that are "just theory" have led some consultants to move so quickly to "practical" advice that the basic ideas that make that advice interpretable are never fully examined. Faced with disputes over practical tactics, then, teachers and staff developers often have no shared ground to which they can retreat as they reconsider or redesign practical applications.

The argument might be made (and *is* made with some impatience by teachers, administrators, and staff developers) that teachers "should be able to translate." And certainly not every detail of practice can be anticipated in advance for every conceivable circumstance; the role of theory is to provide a set of principles precisely for the translation of ideas into practice, difficult though that may sometimes be. With limited time and resources, outside consultants may reasonably expect to do no more than to illustrate an approach to practical application. Nonetheless, teachers' complaints on this score offer some insight. First, it is not at all clear that translation is a simple matter of native intelligence combined with willingness to expend time and energy. Teachers who have worked aggressively to apply theory in practice present translation as a skill that requires some assistance to learn and some practice to master. One teacher says, "I took methods in college but it showed us no transfer of knowledge from one thing to another."

In addition, credible illustrations require a certain degree of specificity, detail, and realism. One teacher criticized a graduate program in cooperative education for organizing all of its examples in terms of "ideal situations," failing to anticipate such likely developments as differences in expectations between teachers and participating employers. Teachers' complaints about much of the human relations training that accompanied early stages of desegregation center on its perpetuation of group stereotypes that frequently conflicted with teachers' own observations, and its inattention to specific tactics for negotiating situations and interactions. Without detailed illustration and careful analysis of practice, teachers find it hard to distinguish some of the advice they now receive from the same "educational clichés" they have heard repeated for years. One teacher criticized a Teacher Corps training session for "telling us what we already knew, like to 'give kids positive strokes.'" Left at that level of generality, the advice merely served to offend a room full of experienced teachers by suggesting implicitly that some of them were not properly crediting the good work and serious effort of their students. (Whether that charge might in fact be true is irrelevant; if there were teachers who were not applying the principle of "giving positive strokes," it was not for want of hearing it expressed.) At the worst, then, teachers' interests in improvement are dulled and their commitments eroded. And at the least, there are missed opportunities to work in reciprocal ("professional")[1] fashion with teachers to explore the difficulties, subtleties, and complexities involved in applying what appears on the surface to be a simple piece of advice. In the case of the Teacher Corps presentation, for example, teachers understood (even if they did not examine with the instructors) that there are several pitfalls in "giving kids positive strokes." Praise can be applied so frequently and so indiscriminately that it becomes devalued, but recognizing the appropriate occasions and the proper frequency may prove difficult. Too, the relative *balance* of criticism and praise may be consequential; one teacher described the mistakes made by student teachers who undermine their own good intentions (and their own visible efforts to praise students' work) when they too publicly single out individual students for criticism (e.g., by announcing one person's bad grade on an assignment). And, reflecting teachers' interests in maintaining standards for performance, there is the issue of how praise can be used selectively to build students' tolerance for and responsiveness to criticism. (Presumably the point of praise is not simply to make students feel good about themselves, though the language of "positive strokes" lends itself to that interpretation, but to credit them properly for gains, even if they are modest ones. In that light, praise is one of several tactics for advancing student performance and can be discussed in that fashion.)

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[1] Demonstrating reciprocity in interaction with teachers may be at least as important here as the substantive command of ideas. Teachers submit to demands on their time and defer (at least nominally) to the knowledge and experience of others; in turn, they accord respect to those who demonstrate a willingness to become informed about and to grapple with the situational complexities encountered by teachers in the course of daily work.

In sum, staff development work contributes to teachers' competence and confidence by making explicit the complexities and uncertainties of practical application, and by taking explicit account of the multiple demands and purposes that teachers themselves must keep in mind as they work.

On a related issue, staff development will have greater influence on teachers' practices where it anticipates, describes, and assists with the implementation of ideas in stages, over time. For teachers to apply new ideas or methods in practice may require rearranging long-standing classroom habits, redesigning courses, redrafting lesson plans, revising old materials or preparing new ones, and reconsidering methods of testing and grading. One teacher who began implementing some of the ideas she learned in an eight-day program of instructional improvement says:

> T: First I started out with teacher objectives. That was an easy thing to start out with because I knew in my head and I have lesson plans. I always have lesson plans and I said, "I know what I'm doing, why can't I just put it up on the board?" So I put it up on the board. And then because I was taking this for college credit I had to do a [curriculum] unit and so I decided to do a unit on something I was having to teach.

Her experience is evidence that teachers working alone can in fact design and manage a sequence of implementation; it is also evidence that working alone makes for progress that is slow, uneven, and difficult to judge:

> T: There is so much. There was too much presented to me and I cannot do it all at once. . . . Maybe the students don't learn any more and maybe they don't learn any better because I don't know enough yet to test it. But I feel better and I think because I feel better as a teacher they are going to be better as students. . . . But I can tell you this: whenever I gave the final test in a unit, maybe twenty-five of my students would flunk and three would pass it. And after I took the Instructional Improvement Program, I devised the test the way they told us to . . . and twenty-five passed and three failed. Now I had forgotten about it and this year . . . I did not use what I learned and twenty-five flunked. And at first I thought, 'You all did so well last year, what is wrong?' And then I remembered. So I need to go back to Bloom's taxonomy and back to the notes from IIP and put them back into effect.

Taken together, teachers' preferences for involvement in the design and conduct of, and their insistence on, work of demonstrable relevance and immediacy suggest that staff development will enjoy the greatest chance of influence where it works directly in partnership with the school. One teacher acknowledged the utility of a centralized staff academy as an "idea center," but predicted that meaningful change would arise only out of collaborative work in the school, with teachers and administrators. Another added that the only way for district curriculum staff to be a real resource to a school was to operate as a part of a team in schools on a regular basis. The Teacher Corps project, whatever its weaknesses, did win favor among teachers here precisely because of its willingness to test ideas through shared work with teachers.[1]

OTHER INFLUENCES ON TEACHERS' VIEWS: THE ROLE OF THE DISTRICT

The actions of the district impinge on the daily lives of teachers in ways that color their view of learning on the job, and that build or erode their investment in continued improvement.

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[1] The relative ineffectiveness of the project stemmed in large part from its inability, in the early stages, to forge a collaboration that was organizationally broad enough (i.e., that captured the participation of the major departments) and substantively focused enough (i.e., that struck agreement on the central ideas). The decision to concentrate on training the faculty of the alternative education program may in fact have served to dissuade others from joining in the venture; according to some teachers, that decision was viewed by a large part of the faculty as "spending more money on kids who are losers."

Teachers look to interactions with district administrators for evidence that instruction is indeed a priority and that continuous improvement by schools and teachers is valued and rewarded. By teachers' accounts, the evidence has been mixed. Some report that they and their departments have been well supported by district personnel. Teachers in two departments claimed that their curriculum supervisors had been active in supplying materials, providing regular information about conferences and meetings, passing on summaries of recent research and promising practices, participating in activities or meetings with teachers, and in general "acting like a part of the school." Teachers in three other departments credit district personnel with being knowledgeable and interested, but complain that they are now "spread too thin" to be useful to buildings on a regular basis. Speaking of his district curriculum supervisor, one teacher said:

> T: This man is a wonderful teacher, knowledgeable--he should be teaching other teachers. And do you know what they've got him doing?! He's running interference on discipline problems.

Still others report that they have been left to struggle on their own and that efforts to initiate and develop good ideas have gone unrecognized. One teacher complained that every time he had approached the district for assistance with a problem, he had been told in so many words to "consider it a challenge." Another person remarked that a good idea in this district is more of a burden than a source of pride: there is no help in developing it, no time to develop it, and no credit for having thought of it. Others register doubt that research ever leads to practice in the district, noting that even research done under the most favorable conditions and leading to the most feasible recommendations (e.g., in the course of accreditation evaluations) has failed to find its way into practice.

In all, teachers appear most certain of the district's commitment to improvement where they see district personnel themselves immersed in questions of instructional improvement and where teachers receive regular and public recognition for ideas well conceived and work well done. Further, in a district where problems are complex and where the impact of an idea may be slowly felt, the district's visible efforts to credit *attempts* at improvement may be even more critical to teachers' commitment than the effort to celebrate dramatic accomplishments.

Apart from direct interactions with district personnel, there are some external circumstances, not directly related to staff development, that nonetheless affect teachers' commitment to professional improvement. Teachers here point out that declining enrollment has placed teachers in competition with one another for jobs. Futures have been rendered uncertain, but survival--under the present contract agreement--is contingent less on demonstrated skill and demonstrated commitment than on longevity and accumulated credentials. Teachers have little incentive to work aggressively to expand their knowledge and improve their practice. They have little encouragement to join collectively in work to improve school performance. One person observed, "There's no room for support when you are competing with one another for a position."[1] Just as declining enrollment places teachers in interpersonal competition, so affirmative action has had the effect of placing teachers in group competition over the scarce opportunities for employment and advancement.

And finally, teachers shape their views of staff development by judging the quality and quantity of assistance they have received during periods of rapid and massive change. Teachers and administrators here describe desegregation as a time of considerable dislocation and severe pressure, but little concrete assistance. Several teachers agreed that the desegregation order produced "a lot of pontificating" that stood in place of or in the way of more concentrated practical guidance. In effect, the early years of desegregation created an image of district and buildings as adversaries rather than allies in the face of difficult circumstances. At the time that desegregation was introduced, says one administrator, the district never seriously took on the commitment to assist or retrain teachers.

ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Past Experiences

Teachers here look to the administrative team for evidence that continuous improvement--and specifically an involvement with programs of staff development--will be viewed favorably and will be adequately supported. In effect, staff development will be taken seriously by teachers where new ideas and methods are taken seriously by building administrators. Over and over, teachers at Park report that in the past their participation in staff development programs was recruited by administrators who paid little subsequent attention to how they were faring (if at all) in implementing the ideas.

> T_1: . . . if the administration sees what I am trying to do for them, maybe they will help me out. So whatever they asked me to do, I did. The assistant principal came and said, "We cannot get enough people to be in IIP

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[1] The competition over jobs bears on teachers' view of staff development in yet another way. In the rush to accumulate credit hours that teachers associate with job security, they find themselves engaged in "weekend wonder classes" that win them the necessary points but fail to stimulate much interest in or admiration for the potential contributions that others might make to their teaching.

> [Instructional Improvement Program], would you do it?"[1] Now this is on top of my other preparations. We had to stay out of school for eight solid days. So at night I would work for five hours preparing my classes. In the morning I would come in and give them to the substitute teacher and then I would go off for eight hours and then go home and do this all over again . . . and after that . . . [another] administrator tried to railroad me into the reading department.
>
> T_2: But then the administration wonders why these programs fail. Because nobody ever follows them up. Nobody ever utilizes them. . . . I know there are marvelous techniques for foot dragging. You know, smile politely. You smile and say, 'That's a good idea, boss, sure, fantastic.' And then let it drop and slide. You create the illusion.

New Developments

Teachers credit the new principal with working to build professionalism at Park.[2] In the view of every teacher to whom we spoke, expectations for performance among students and staff are higher under the leadership of the new principal. Teachers are feeling encouraged or pushed to work harder and to anticipate more rewards for their efforts. One noted that the principal had taken on the "double job of strengthening teachers and students, setting standards for the whole school." And with more stringent standards for performance, teachers say there has been a rise in faculty morale. "You're experiencing this place at the best I've ever seen it."

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[1] The Instructional Improvement Program was intended to increase the odds in favor of enduring effect by recruiting a group of teachers from each participating school. At Park (and, on the evidence, in other secondary schools), the commitment to participate in the program was made by administrators, who then recruited individual teachers to participate. Nothing in that recruitment procedure created a sense among the participants that they were to view themselves as a group, with a collective stake in one another's understanding of and use of the ideas they would be taught. And, by teachers' and administrators' descriptions, nothing in the subsequent followup worked to confirm any sense of "groupness" that might have been instilled in the course of the out-of-school training.

[2] The following description focuses on the role of the principal as the initiator of and guiding force in the changes occurring at Park High School. Certainly that is the view that teachers and assistant principals reflect in their interviews, even while the interest, enthusiasm, and participation of others is credited. Nonetheless, the picture that is created here is in some respects at odds with the view and the intent of Dr. Abeyta, who stresses that these are collaborative efforts.

In his first year in the building and his first year in a high school principalship, Dr. Abeyta made no pretense about "coming in 'gangbusters' to make a bunch of changes." Still, there was little doubt that there was room for improvement. Park is ranked lowest among the city's nine high schools in academic performance, and highest in percentage of dropouts. Without stressing a language of "change," the new principal embarked on a campaign that would nonetheless reshape Park High School as a workplace.

> P: I think that the school has to begin to become a self-assessing, self-correcting system of people. . . . But I think you have to begin to change the mores of the school from what I perceive to be a rigidity and inflexibility to a place where people can enjoy being with each other and working with each other.

At issue were four "norms":

(1) *A norm of attendance and achievement.* From his first day in the school, Dr. Abeyta began working to get students in school and in classes, to build teachers' and students' expectations for what could be accomplished in a day, a semester, a year.

(2) *A norm of evaluation.* Early on, Dr. Abeyta began looking carefully at existing practice and encouraging teachers to join him in lending scrutiny to the school program at large, the program objectives of their departments, and their own classroom practices.

(3) *A norm of collegiality.* Observing that shared work was rare and that teachers turned to one another for ideas or assistance only when they were "in a bind," Dr. Abeyta set about cultivating opportunities to work with teachers and to arrange for teachers to work routinely together on ideas they had initiated.

(4) *A norm of innovation and experimentation.* By pushing teachers to initiate ideas for improvement and by his own experimentation, Dr. Abeyta worked to generate support for risk and tolerance for experiments that fail.

These norms are in several respects a departure from prevailing perspectives and practices. Teachers report that they and their peers in fact have low expectations for students, and that students display low expectations for their own performance. Students comment that "it seems like a lot of the teachers don't believe we can learn anything." They ask that observers "notice the teacher's attitude in class." And faced with a persistent record of high absenteeism and low achievement, teachers were inclined to say in resigned tones, "That's the way it is here." Shared work among teachers has been rare, and discussion less often prompted by continuous interests and curiosities than by some immediate crisis. Innovation, to the extent it has occurred, has been pursued on an individual classroom basis or in programs that lie outside the mainstream departmental operations.

Prevailing norms, then, operate to inhibit collegiality, innovation, and systematic evaluation of practice. They are supported by (and in turn support) low expectations for student achievement. The campaign to alter them has been deliberate and visible.

To begin, Dr. Abeyta relied upon an explicit statement of intent:

> P: The first step, on the first day, is to let the staff know what your leadership style is. So I told them what my expectations were and my leadership style. And I always start off with a stroke, using a stroke and stinger technique. As an example, to get into the classrooms here at this school, where they have filed grievances in the past, I told them, "I've heard a lot of positive things that go on at Park High School. And so that I might be more aware of those . . . and to help you work on them cooperatively, I'd like to let you know that I'll be making some classroom visits every day.

By *announcing* his views and by tying them explicitly to improvements in school standing, Dr. Abeyta created the ground on which broad agreement could be struck; teachers uniformly found his "philosophy" appealing and educationally sound, even then they registered doubts about whether it could be put into practice. Such disputes as ensued then could be taken on and resolved (or not) as matters of tactics.[1]

By casting his announced expectations as specific practices (e.g., classroom observation), Dr. Abeyta increased the "visibility" of those practices and informed teachers about their intended interpretation. Fully understanding that talk is cheap, however, he has simultaneously worked at confirming words with deeds. He has engaged in visible interactions with teachers, other administrators, students, counselors, paraprofessionals--virtually everyone including the office, custodial, and lunchroom staffs--that themselves reflect a commitment to achievement, attendance, evaluation of practices, experimentation with alternatives, and shared work with others. He has noticed and praised others' efforts to do the same. One teacher lauds the new principal for "reinforcing good work."

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[1] Several teachers commented that this principal is "doing a good job of letting people know what he wants stressed."

"Shoot for the best"; a norm of attendance and achievement. To raise teachers' and students' expectations for what they could accomplish academically, the principal and other members of the administrative team set about to demonstrate their concern about student attendance, promptness to class, and academic accomplishment.

(1) Encouraging school attendance: Closing the park. Directly across the street from Park High School is a city park in which, during any period of the school day in recent years, one might encounter three hundred or more of the school's 1600 students. As a first dramatic stand that they were committed to having students in school and in class, administrators joined forces in a plan to close the park to students.

> P: When I came to this school, on an average day we had five to six hundred kids absent. And about four hundred of them were out there [in the park]. So I walked out there for a few days . . . and I said, "I'm just kind of finding out, you know, why you guys are out here. . . . I'm thinking of closing the park." They said, "Man, you'd never close the park. Who's going to do it?" I said, "I'm going to do it." . . . That's what we did.[1] And today, which was a bad day, the absence was two hundred and thirty. When we get it down to ten percent I'll feel more comfortable. And kids are in class.

To balance the stringency of his stand on the park and to confirm his claim that he in fact wanted students in school, Dr. Abeyta arranged for changes in the daily schedule and for improvements in the physical appearance of the buildings and grounds to make the school more attractive to students:

> P: I take away [the park] but I'm going to give you something back. . . . I'll give you a student lounge, or extend the passing period. We're going to build a patio out there on that south court: chairs, benches, and stuff out there.

In a similar move, administrators tackled tardiness to class by placing demands and by making compromises that preserved, rather than weakened, their intent. In response to student complaints that the passing period was too short, an administrator spent several days walking from one location in the building to another in the four-minute passing period; as a consequence of his small experiment, he supported the students' claims. The passing period was extended by one minute, but the consequences for tardiness were also made clear, consistent, immediate, and increasingly severe.

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[1] This shortened account may leave the impression that a properly decisive principal restored reasonable levels of attendance simply by declaring it would be. In truth, the plan for closing the park was carefully wrought and executed to give it the best possible chance of success.

(2) Pushing for greater achievement. Parallel to the recent concern for increased attendance have been a series of administrative moves to foster improved performance and higher aspirations.

> P: We have several seniors now taking three classes. I think that's a waste of talent. So I told [the counselors] we have to redevelop our philosophy, a new orientation: Park is going to be tough and challenging. And don't just shoot for a hundred and fifty hours of credit. Shoot for the most you can. . . . Shoot for taking six classes rather than the minimum. It also helps on job security for teachers because that's the way we build the schedule.

In addition, this new principal is pushing for higher minority enrollment in the advanced placement classes, and is personally acknowledging students' achievements:

> P: I wrote little notes for everybody on the honor roll and get a lot of feedback from the parents and the kids. I used to write them by hand, but three hundred forty-seven were too many so I had them typed and signed them all.

Some teachers claim that this new emphasis is paying off, even in the few months that the new administrative team has operated:

> T: There has been a change in kids. They are wanting to learn now. . . . When I first came to Park maybe three kids would turn in an assignment and today maybe twenty-five will turn it in and only three won't. It has changed.

"Look for the strengths and weaknesses": A norm of evaluation. Evaluation in this district, as in most, has always been viewed as a supervisory practice: teachers are evaluated by administrators. The language and procedures of the present contract agreement perpetuate that view, casting teachers and administrators as adversaries:

> P: According to the agreement, you cannot observe in the classroom unless it's for a specified period of time and the teacher has advance notice, three days, and so forth. . . . And in the past they have seen the principal as a threat rather than an asset.

To build a commitment to routine, continuous evaluation has required that Dr. Abeyta find some way visibly and demonstrably to separate judgments about the utility of specific practices from judgments of the personal worth of the people who use them, and to separate curiosities about the worth of a program from doubts about the competence of people who staff it. The task has been to make evaluation "nonthreatening," in fact an integral part of the work of teaching in as well as administering a school. He has proceeded in these ways.

First, he has encouraged teachers themselves to participate in the careful scrutiny of present practices and programs, and has sought ways to reward them for their curiosities, questions, and observations.[1] For example, one teacher observed that the reading lab program was deficient in providing the kind of practice in writing or discussion that would enable students to perform adequately when they moved into regular English classes. Her observation was credited by creating a new staffing arrangement to team her with another teacher interested in working collaboratively on expanding the program to include instruction in writing.

Nonetheless, teachers have typically been the evaluated and not the evaluators; participation in the close observation, analysis, and interpretation of practice represents something of an exercise in the unknown. Members of the administrative team anticipate that their encouragement might add to teachers' *willingness* to evaluate their own work and to be evaluated, but expect that the competence and confidence required to engage fully and comfortably in this line of work will come only from added knowledge and accumulated skill. To build a norm of evaluation here--to make the collective evaluation of practice a taken-for-granted part of being a teacher at Park--will require expanding teachers' capabilities in evaluation.

> AP: I don't think very many teachers are good at setting up programs for evaluation. I think very few are. They just haven't been trained to do that. If they haven't had much experience with developing evaluation processes, then they may just sit back and take whatever you give them because they don't know how to give you input . . . but you can work with them so that they feel that they're a part of the process as it's developed, by feeding them ideas, brainstorming, giving them good materials out of the literature, giving them samples of evaluation instruments.

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[1] This is a qualitatively different stance from one that matches teachers' obligation to be evaluated with the right only to be protected from unfair procedure. The difference may be critical in a work situation where, due to declining enrollment and declining staff size, teachers are being asked to teach courses for which they were not trained or have not recently prepared.

Second, Dr. Abeyta himself pays close and continuous attention to classroom practice. In addition to checking grading patterns among teachers, he makes a regular practice of moving in and out of classrooms, observing classroom interaction, and discussing classroom practice with teachers.

> P: They'll tell you that the principal is the instructional leader in the school. I guess I would rephrase that in a way and say that the principal is really a manager, a facilitator, of the educational process. So, to learn how to be a facilitator, I've got to learn what's going on in the classroom.

Reporting to teachers on his observations, Dr. Abeyta makes a deliberate and systematic effort to stress accomplishments and acknowledge strengths:

> P: And I always share the positive first and then come up with the stinger, but I try to do it in a constructive fashion. . . .

Still, the emphasis on high expectations and criteria for solid classroom performance are stringent and inescapable. One teacher's evaluation, prepared by another member of the administrative team, was rewritten in less favorable terms after the principal judged that it reflected too little attention to classroom performance and too much credit for simple compliance with administrative demands (e.g., paperwork).

Progress has been uneven. Some teachers praise Dr. Abeyta for being "the first one in twenty years to come in my classroom." And he, too, reports a generally favorable reception:

> P: The first classroom I went into, I felt, well, if they file a grievance on me I'll know it didn't work, my talk didn't work. If they don't, it's great. And they didn't. And to reinforce that, in a reading lab one day I was a little late [giving feedback] because I usually give them the memo back the next morning, no later than the next morning. And I didn't to this particular pair of teachers. And they came down at the end of the day and they said, "My God, Dr. Abeyta, either you found nothing good at all, or everything was so bad you didn't want to write to us. Where's our note?" I said, "I'm sorry, I apologize, I was just a day late." So that feedback tells me they like me coming in the classroom.
>
> [and]
>
> [a department chairman] said to me, "Well, I've been teaching thirteen years and when you walk in, even if you're not evaluating me, my adrenalin really gets going. I begin to think about what I'm doing."

Others are less certain. They find the unexpected examination of grading practices disconcerting, even unwarranted. The principal responds:

> P: I'm not saying that the teacher failed, although that is a possibility. And they are very defensive. In fact, the building committee gave me some hassle about that the other day. And I asked them, why? What are *you* doing about it? What can *we* do to help? . . . Some people are comfortable with that, others are not. Some people have told me, "You're the first principal that has ever asked me about my grades." Others have said it's subtle intimidation.

Similarly, some find the sudden attention to their classroom work an assault on their competence. Certainly everyone, including the administrators, finds it difficult to *conduct* evaluation of practice in ways that maintain objectivity and preserve persons' self-respect. Missing are the perspectives and the habitual ways of talking that would make evaluation an ordinary part of teachers' work. One member of a team teaching situation notes that the presence of another teacher in the room forces him to engage in "self-evaluation," but adds that the lessons learned are confined to "what I shouldn't do" (e.g., doing the daily crossword puzzle while students are engaged in silent reading will earn him the disapproval of his teammate). Conference discussions between principal and teachers have had their rough edges. Dr. Abeyta summarizes, "Some people get real defensive."

The line between constructive scrutiny and blame appears narrow, often hard to locate and harder still to walk. Building commitment to the continuous evaluation of practice, and introducing the set of habits that would sustain that commitment has thus proved difficult.

"Working together": A norm of collegiality. Drawing on his own training in organizational development and on previous experience as an elementary school principal, Dr. Abeyta judged that school improvement at Park was necessarily a collective venture. For all the strengths of individual teachers working alone, the kinds of shared expectations and shared practices that add up to school success could not, in his view, be assured through the mutually independent actions of over one hundred faculty members.

> P: I think you really need to create that norm . . . for Park High School people to use people to help each other rather than the unusual situation where you use somebody only when you are in a bind.

Thus, he and others on the administrative team have worked to build a situation in which teachers would find joy and merit in work with their fellow teachers and with administrators. They have used four related approaches.

First, Dr. Abeyta has worked to provide evidence to teachers that shared work with administrators will be to their individual and collective advantage without compromising their interests. In particular, he has tried to close the distance between the administrators and the powerful building committee by informing the committee of plans, seeking and using its ideas, and crediting its contributions:

> P: The building committee has always been a thorn in the side of the principal here. And I called them in and we had a discussion . . . and they said, "You're going to have to prove your credibility to us."
>
> I: The building committee has a lot of influence, then, in the building?
>
> P: Yeah. But now, if you let them know they are a part of the decision-making process [then] they have suggestions over and above what you would normally have asked for. . . . You know, they're involved, they develop commitment to an idea. And there's a little quote: "It's immeasurable what can be accomplished if one does not care who gets the credit."

Second, members of the administrative team spend several hours of each day out around the building and grounds, visibly sharing in the central work of the schools, talking informally with teachers and students, and taking part in fielding the large or small crises that arise in the course of a day. In the course of those informal encounters, Dr. Abeyta deliberately cultivates opportunities for shared work with or among teachers.

> P: Sometimes when I go into the faculty lounge I say, "Hey, got this idea. What do you think about it?" Or, "Let me share with you and let me know some time what you think about it." And they begin to think about it and some come back and say, "Hey, that's not a bad idea."

Recently he has offered to use administrative resources (scheduling, staff assignments, etc.) to support various small groups of teachers in collectively pursuing ideas that range from the modest (preparation of curriculum units) to the ambitious (a version of a school-within-a-school). In this fashion, administrators build an image of collegial work that is not tied to individual difficulties (being "in a bind") but rather to the collective achievement of shared aims.

And third, the principal has sought a more cohesive, "comfortable" set of social relations among a large and somewhat impersonal staff.[1] According to one teacher, Dr. Abeyta achieved two major coups in his first six months at Park. The first was to close the park and bring students back into school. The second was to host a successful Christmas party.

On several fronts, then, Dr. Abeyta and other administrators are working to cultivate a set of beliefs in and habits for shared discussion and shared work that will reshape Park High School as a workplace and as an educational institution.

"Taking a risk": A norm of experimentation.

> P: I think what we have done this year is to try and create an environment where it is acceptable to take a risk.

In the principal's view, the overt signs of failure--high absenteeism and dropout, low achievement, few college applications or acceptances--are symptomatic. They are produced in part by the prevailing policies and practices of the school itself, and are subject to change with some concerted effort and selective risk-taking by school staff.

> P: All of the things that I've talked about--the park and some of these things--are symptoms. And when you begin to change the climate of the classroom [then you have to be] in a school where, if you're a teacher, you're willing to take a risk and know that if you succeed you get the credit and if you fail you are not jumped on. . . .

To build teachers' interests in experimentation as individuals and as departments or groups, Dr. Abeyta has pursued three strategies:

First, he continues to announce at every opportunity that risk-taking is admired and will be supported and rewarded by the administration. Faculty meetings in particular serve as occasions to state "publicly" that risk-taking will contribute to school success but without jeopardizing teachers' professional standing.[1]

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[1] Teachers here, more than in any of the other five schools, were inclined to criticize their peers personally and professionally in the course of interviews, and to stress the relative absence of any social affinity among individuals or groups.

> P: I know a lot of my peers will feel threatened and say, 'By God, I am the principal, I get the credit.' You also get the blame. But I think if Joe did good, he ought to get the credit. If he screws up I think someone should go to him and say, "Joe, man, this idea you proposed wasn't the best, but I admire you for proposing it. What do you think about this? Get up, let's try again." . . . You'll hear this in faculty meeting tomorrow. I want them to know that they can take a risk and succeed or fail, that we encourage them to take a risk, and that by doing all of these wierd things that we are proposing at Park High School that somehow it will have some impact on the academic achievement of the students.

Second, Dr. Abeyta displays a commitment to his announced stance by exercising considerable latitude in innovation himself. His own behavior (e.g., in making classroom visits) is in many respects a considerable departure from that of past principals and is explicitly intended to model experimentation as a route to improving school achievement. His own risks are visible to teachers and occasionally to students:[2]

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[1] It is clear to teachers at Park that they do not jeopardize the good favor of the *principal* by engaging in efforts to improve their own work or the school program. What is less clear (and less under the control of the principal) is the degree to which visible risk-taking will jeopardize a teacher's social standing with his fellow teachers. Teachers here have seen principals come and go; they are uncertain that this principal will be here long enough adequately to support and protect those teachers who take initiative now. It appears that a certain degree of collegiality is required to sustain the kind of risk-taking that Dr. Abeyta envisions--collegiality that is slow to build after years of firmly established "mutual independence."

[2] Occasionally the risks may be miscalculated. As one move in an overall campaign to stimulate interest in risk-taking, the principal made a general offer to the faculty that he would trade places with any of them at their invitation. Teachers credited the invitation with confirming the principal's willingness to expose his own knowledge and skill to their scrutiny and to permit their critique of his classroom performance. However, in casting the invitation as a "trade," Dr. Abeyta unwittingly and unintentionally discouraged any takers. In that instance, greater risk accrued to the teacher than to the principal. Principals have all had classroom experience; teachers have not had experience as principals, and risk appearing foolish and quite genuinely out of place. The first question from one teacher was, "What if downtown calls?"

P: It was a risk, I'll tell you, to close the park. That day, that morning, the faculty was lined against the windows up there, looking out.

And finally, the principal has assisted teachers to exercise some latitude in innovation and experimentation, and rewarded their efforts. He has declared (and demonstrated) his willingness to commit the resources of the school to support the development of new ideas. Staffing patterns have been altered, schedules changed, assistance offered in support of teachers wishing to pursue an idea. In addition, administrators are working to stimulate and confirm habits of collegiality and evaluation that make experimentation more manageable and predictable (less "risky") and gains more certain.

P: "What's your idea? Develop it, practice it, and then evaluate it. Keep a log on what happens." . . . We need to continue to assess the impact of our decision . . . on a formative and summative basis. Formative so that whoever is responsible for implementing that decision can say, "We have a chance to retool, we can modify, we readjust as we go on and don't have to wait a year to say, 'Oh my gosh, we messed up.'"

By explicit announcement of his hopes and aims, and in the course of daily interaction with everyone from students to assistant principals, Park's new principal is trying to build a work situation in which teachers and administrators alike are capable of and committed to continuous improvement. Though he and others envision a role for university or district staff development in promoting school success, they maintain that 'You've got to have some things going on [here] before you ever do that."

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT

In the recent past, staff development has exerted little recognizable influence on Park High School. Drawing on interviews with teachers, counselors, and administrators, one could argue that there are nonetheless three opportunities for staff development in the immediate future.

First, staff development could assist the administrative staff in two ways with their efforts to reshape work relationships at Park High School:

(1) They can contribute knowledge and advice on stages or tactics of change. Dr. Abeyta observes that the coordinator of the Department of Staff Development has been useful in the past because "she can tell you how to get change." An assistant principal points out that no one administrative team commands all the knowledge, skill, and resources needed to mount a program of broad organizational change.

> AP: There's no way that . . . the four of us alone have all the tools, all the background, and all the information or the time necessary to do a good job. . . .

By drawing on current research, by serving as a sounding board for discussions of theory and tactics, and by passing on the lessons of their own experience, staff development personnel can extend the resources of the four-member administrative team.

(2) They can relieve the burden of preparation and the drain on administrators' time by assisting directly with some of the first stage requirements of change. For example, administrators at Park believe that teachers will engage more readily in program evaluation when they themselves are more familiar with the vocabulary and the methods of evaluation. Though administrative staff may in fact be capable of instructing teachers in evaluation methods, their other obligations make them an uncertain and unpredictable resource. Conceivably, teachers' interest in evaluation could be jeopardized if regularly scheduled evaluation seminars were cancelled or interrupted by administrators with competing responsibilities. By conducting such a seminar, staff development personnel could support long-term improvement goals by managing the more immediate demand for improved technical capabilities.

In this regard, staff development acts in partnership with building administrators, taking on those roles that administrators, for whatever reason, feel they cannot credibly manage and working jointly with administrators on shared aims of school improvement. This raises the issue of what roles can be competently and credibly managed by outsiders, whether university professors, district personnel, or independent consultants. Most staff at Park declared themselves willing to learn from and with others whom they regard as knowledgeable, experienced, and skillful. The quandary is that it is not always clear how those qualities come to be recognized or how those views come to be shaped.

> P: People just say, "Gosh, I heard this consultant and he was great." But great in what?

Teachers complain about "authorities" whose expertise does not extend to any useful understanding of the urban high school; they complain, too, about teachers whose skill in the classroom is not matched by their facility in instructing their peers:

> T: We had an inservice that was put on by the district . . . and it was how to mainstream kids. . . . I took those, and those were deadly. They were taught by special ed people who were normally good teachers . . . but they couldn't teach it [to us].

In the view of administrators here, a partnership arrangement permits school personnel to be certain that they share with staff developers an explicit agreement about the outcomes to be sought and the means by which they will be pursued. In turn, it requires that administrators know precisely what contribution they can expect from any outside consultant:

> AP: If we're going to make a change in this building, for example, and, and we're trying to get people excited and motivated and get them ready for this change, and you bring somebody in that sets you two paces backwards, you know, that's going to kill you, so you don't bring somebody in to talk to your people unless I would . . . or one of us would personally have had some experience with them so we know something about them, we know that they're talking down the same road. . . . If, if I want to really accomplish something and I've got a specific goal, I would never ask somebody to come in and talk to a group cold unless I knew something about them. And a dossier just wouldn't do it.

In parallel fashion, staff development could anticipate direct work in the school on topics decided and developed collaboratively with individual departments.[1]

And third, district or university resources could complement developments in the school by providing a centralized source of references and materials, and by themselves organizing as "practical laboratories" where teachers and administrators could explore on a modest scale the connections between theory and practice:[2]

> P: I hope the Staff Academy is set up so that you can see the theory and observe a practical lab application and then get to try it out and decide yourself. Where you can get some constructive criticism from your peers.

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[1] The argument could be made that support might be built more readily through work with individual teachers, aiming for affiliation with an ever-expanding group of teachers. It is unlikely, however, that the present staff development resources of the district could support that kind of diffuse work on any meaningful scale. In addition, the prevailing pattern of mutual independence among teachers at Park suggests that a more influential route might be to attempt work within departments by which shared (group) expectations and habits supporting collegiality could be built. The risk to staff development in this kind of in-school involvement is that they will be "spread too thin" to do a credible job, and will in consequence erode teachers' interest and commitment.

[2] As presently designed, the district's new Staff Academy is organized on these principles.

IV. SUMMARY

In the past, staff development at Park High School has made no appreciable difference to most teachers' satisfaction with their work, to the practices they employ in the classroom, or to the achievements they witness among their students. Drawing from interviews and observations, we have argued that there are two related explanations, and that these explanations themselves lead to a future design for staff development here.

First, prevailing norms of interaction among teachers have been organized to foster (even require) autonomy and independence. Such norms serve to discourage teachers' routine involvement with others, leading them to work and learn alone. Thus, the work situation at Park has not been conducive to teachers' participation in programs of staff development, nor to teachers' collective efforts to support one another in the application of new ideas.

Second, the staff development programs in which teachers have joined have not been powerful enough in their design or execution to compete with or displace the long-standing patterns of work relationships at Park. By design, the Teacher Corps program sought its impact by engaging in direct work with teachers in school; in practice, it weakened its prospects for success by failing to strike initial agreements with teachers and by subsequently concentrating its efforts on a program (alternative education) that wielded little influence schoolwide. By design, the Instructional Improvement Program sought to generate a core of support within the school by recruiting groups of teachers to participate; in practice, the recruitment procedure did nothing to lead the thirty-two participating teachers even to view themselves as a group. Nor did arrangements for followup assistance serve to promote mutual support among teachers who were interested in testing the approaches they had been taught. Altogether, these two programs were thoughtfully conceived but not executed in ways that would lead teachers into work with one another on a regular basis, or into the routine and sustained scrutiny of their present practices, or into the selective (and collective) trial of promising ideas.

By all accounts, however, Park High School is changing. Building a commitment to collegial work, shared evaluation of programs and practices, experimentation, and high standards of student achievement is, by the principal's estimate, a five-year venture. Others on the staff echo that view. The prospects that staff development will play a role here, and that it will contribute in measurable ways to school success, appear to hinge on the success of these current efforts to reshape work relationships among teachers and between teachers and others, and on the contribution that staff development itself can make toward that end.

REED JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION 150

II. LEARNING ON THE JOB AT REED: TEACHERS' AND ADMINISTRATORS' VIEWS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT 154

INTRODUCTION 154

SCHOOLWIDE INVOLVEMENTS WITH STAFF DEVELOPMENT: COURT-ORDERED INSERVICE 155
  Relevance and "Practicality" 156
  Frequency: Time for Reflection and Practice 163
  Authorities and Experts 164
  Summary 167

POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTIONS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT: THE MASTERY LEARNING PROGRAM 168
  Strengths of the Mastery Learning Program 168
  Improving Training in Mastery Learning 170

PROSPECTS FOR GREATER INFLUENCE: THE CONNECTION BETWEEN IMPROVEMENT AND COLLEGIALITY 172
  Circumstances that Favor Greater Collegiality 174
  Circumstances that Inhibit Greater Collegiality 180

III. SUMMARY 184

I. INTRODUCTION

Located in an affluent neighborhood, Reed Junior High was among the most prestigious and successful junior highs in the district in the years prior to desegregation. Teaching assignments here were prized. The faculty prided itself on its academic competence, and on the standards they held (and met) for academic achievement.

With desegregation, teachers encountered diversity of a sort they had never faced before: diversity in a student population that was racially and socioeconomically mixed and whose elementary school preparation varied substantially;[1] diversity of educational aims that were broadened to include not only academic achievement but also group parity and intergroup harmony. The early years of desegregation were, by all accounts,[2] difficult. Teachers here look back with emotions ranging from humor to anger at the days when classes were rendered impossible by large groups who ran the halls, by verbal and physical confrontations, and by sheer uncertainty about how to manage either classroom order or classroom instruction.

Some teachers say that black students were derogated, ignored, left to the back of the room and the bottom of the class. Others, looking back, say that the disruptions that black students caused should have been no surprise, since it was evident from the moment they stepped off the bus that they were unwelcome. Today, teachers consider themselves and the students survivors of hard times. They look around them and see more intergroup friendships each year, more casual talk among black and white students during classes or in hallways, more tendency on the part of everyone (including parents) to describe or explain conflicts in nonracial terms.

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[1] In the first few years of desegregation, according to Reed's principal, some of these problems were exacerbated by the turmoil surrounding student and faculty transfers, and the strains and tensions produced by desegregation itself. Instruction "took third or fourth place," and students were coming out of elementary schools unable to read. Now, as the situation has become more stable, some of these earlier problems are diminishing, some of the early differences among groups are being eroded. These experiences suggest that efforts to judge the impact of desegregation by measuring academic achievement after one or two years may be misguided--that, if anything, certain early stage losses might be expected, followed by gradual and steady gains.

[2] Interviews were conducted with nineteen of sixty-three faculty members (30 percent) and with all four members of the administrative team. Observations were made in the classrooms of eight teachers.

Teachers have gained the confidence to treat Reed once again as a "regular school."[1] Certainly a degree of social and academic segregation remains. One administrator says that integration in the sense of "true acceptance" has yet to be achieved. High classes here are still predominantly white, low or remedial classes predominantly black. Most teachers, however, claim that with a persistent emphasis on "meaningful instruction," the gap is narrowing and the number of black students in advanced classes is increasing.[2]

On the whole, staff here attribute their successes during this period to their own determination and persistence, and to administrative response to serious disruption.[3] Reed's history as a successful and prestigious school seems to have offered something of an incentive to teachers to preserve the reputation, to uphold standards of excellence and to meet the challenge to their own competence and confidence. Over time, the faculty has come to trace its strengths not only to solid academic preparation but also to a certain adaptibility and flexibility in the face of change.

At the time this study was completed, two new features of work at Reed may have colored teachers' and administrators' views of the school and of "learning on the job." First, the district was engaged in two moves that affected the job prospects and placement of teachers and assistant principals. The opening of a new junior-senior high school would draw approximately one-third of Reed's students in the coming school year, calling for a comparable reduction in staff. Teachers were waiting throughout most of the spring for news of transfers they did not want and would not welcome. In addition, the district reached agreement during the spring on a shift from traditional three-year junior high schools to a two-year middle school, followed by four years of high school. This change was scheduled for the fall of 1981[1] and would further affect the placement of Reed teachers. Uncertainty over job security has created a certain distraction from other concerns (like professional improvement) and has introduced some strain into relations among teachers and between teachers and administrators.

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[1] A shop teacher describes the first year of desegregation, in which teachers were warned to "lock things up." Now, he has shifted to an honor system regarding tools, and has lost not a single tool in the last five years. Should something turn up lost, he says, he has only to mention its absence for it to show up again.

[2] Teachers here, noting that minority students are still overrepresented in the low academic classes, say that gains are nonetheless evident and that next year there will be fewer remedial classes "because they aren't needed any more." Minority students constituted from 10 percent to 25 percent of the advanced classes we observed.

[3] Teachers report that administrators responded to students' sit-down strikes by calling parents, 90 percent of whom offered support. Still, by other accounts, administrators themselves were uncertain how to proceed and were often unskilled and unpracticed in roles they were forced to take but had never been trained to assume. One teacher recalls being offended when the announcement of the busing arrangements prompted the building principal to gather the teachers and warn them to keep purses and other valuables under lock and key. Another remembers that the principal's frequent praise of and physical affection toward the black students struck teachers and students alike as "phony." Some teachers speak with some sympathy of a subsequent principal who had been a capable teacher and who might have been a capable administrator under more stable circumstances, but who simply was not prepared to exert leadership in the face of change on this scale.

A second new feature of work here is the recent arrival of a new principal. Though in her first principalship at Reed, Mrs. Landry brings to the position many years' experience as assistant principal of a large high school and experience as one of the district's curriculum supervisors. Neither she nor the teachers considers her a neophyte.

In the six months that she had been at Reed when this study was completed, the new principal had been credited by teachers with "changing the climate at this school," providing "leadership all the way down to the boiler room," and generally "bringing out the best in people." Teachers described four ways that the principal, together with other members of the administrative team, has stimulated teachers' interest and their commitment to good work.

First, she has stated clear expectations for professionalism. Teachers recall that in the very first faculty meeting of the year,[2] the new principal stated her expectations for a professional staff clearly and unequivocally.

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[1] This schedule was delayed part way into the 1980-81 "planning year" when the court declared itself uncertain of the implications of the move with regard to the desegregation plan. Earliest implementation of the change is now anticipated for fall 1982.

[2] This strategic use of the first faculty meeting was deliberate and, on the evidence, successful in conveying the principal's intent. As Mrs. Landry describes that intent, "I began in the fall when we had our first faculty meeting. I decided, in fairness to the faculty, that I would tell them exactly where I was coming from in terms of my expectations."

> T: At the first faculty meeting she said, "I expect all of you to do your job, to be professional, to be to school on time, to put in a full day" . . . very straight, no b.s., and yet somewhat relaxed, very friendly. She made an effort to meet everyone.

> T: She stood up in faculty meeting and said exactly her beliefs, what she expected of people.

Second, she visibly and systematically supports teachers' efforts at professional improvement. By teachers' accounts, Mrs. Landry encourages teachers to improve their work by fostering the regular use of educational leave days, and by using the administrative resources at her disposal to support teachers' hard work and innovative ideas.[1] She helped to arrange half-day work sessions for the math department to continue its implementation of mastery learning;[2] she took over classes for an English teacher who had devoted long hours to building a program and who was unable to get a substitute to attend a state conference. Teachers claim that administrators try to support teachers by arranging a schedule and teaching assignments to accord with teachers' preferences and strengths, and by minimizing the number of different preparations that teachers must manage.

Third, teachers praise administrators here for being visible and accessible. Mrs. Landry and the assistant principals spend time out in the building, in classes, on the grounds. They handle minor and major disciplinary incidents and talk with teachers and students. One assistant principal joins teachers in the lounge for lunch and cards each day; the principal and another assistant principal eat lunch with teachers in the small teachers' lunchroom near the cafeteria. Teachers credit the principal for building rapport in part by "socializing" with teachers. Informally, there is something of a sense that teachers and administrators make up a group of people working together, and that administrators work hard to minimize the distance between their position and teachers'.

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[1] Teachers distinguish this stand from one they summarize as "twelve reasons why it can't be done."

[2] Mrs. Landry reports that she prefers to encourage innovation and improvement by visibly supporting teachers' initiatives. It is her view that interests and involvements will expand as teachers informally persuade and recruit one another, and as the consistency of administrative support is demonstrated. This strategy stands in contrast to one based in administrative initiative, by which the interests of the principal or a few enthusiastic teachers become the justification for a large-scale, formal program requiring the participation of many.

Finally, teachers credit administrators for "backing up the teachers." Teachers report that their new principal has backed them up in ways that have made their lives easier and that have demonstrated her loyalty to them and the school. At a time when teachers were nervous about impending transfers, she passed on information quickly that teachers in other buildings were having to learn through the rumor mill. In a conflict between teachers' interests and a fellow principal's desire to transfer a troublesome student, Mrs. Landry backed the teachers:

> T: These teachers couldn't believe that we had a principal like that. I couldn't believe it. I'd never seen it before in my life. If you did go to a principal, the principal would say, "Well, she's not that bad, she has a few problems. In the meantime, we're going to get Sidney to take one of our kids and it's all arranged." She really took care of it, and I mean really impressive.

In approaching Reed Junior High for insights about school success and staff development, we were entering a school with a record of accomplishment, a high degree of professional assurance, and an administration committed to continuous improvement. We were also entering a school where formal involvement in staff development has been minimal. As individuals, teachers have participated in university and district classes. In this way, they say, they have earned the credits needed to preserve their competitive edge in a tight job market and to raise their position on the pay scale, and they have remained current in their fields. As a school, Reed has organized the periodic inservices needed to satisfy the provisions of the court order, but has sponsored little other participation in staff development. Only recently, as a small number of teachers have sought training in mastery learning principles and methods (drawn from the work of Benjamin Bloom), have teachers here begun to credit a potentially favorable role for staff development.

II. LEARNING ON THE JOB AT REED: TEACHERS' AND ADMINISTRATORS' VIEWS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

Teachers and administrators alike view Reed Junior High as a good school and the faculty as a strong and capable faculty. Most teachers give thoughtful attention to their classroom practices, to the effects they achieve, and to means by which they could be strengthened. Social and professional standing is, by most accounts, closely bound up with perceived competence in the classroom:

> T: In this building there's all kinds of respect given to a good teacher whether he participates socially or not. And a poor teacher is just not respected at all.

The prevailing social relationships in the building offer a powerful incentive toward continuous improvement. Further, those teachers who have invested time, thought, and energy in developing and testing new ideas have reaped the rewards not only in the respect and admiration of fellow teachers, but also in visibly improved performance in the classroom. One teacher who is working to apply mastery learning principles systematically in her classes reports that "the preparation is longer, but it's worth it." Others who are working with the same approach claim they have changed their teaching:

> T: When I came back [from mastery learning training] I did change a lot of things about my classes.
>
> T: This year more than any other year I feel that I have been prepared every time I walk in that class. . . . Where last year, fifty percent of the time I would walk in there, 'Oh, what page are we on?' . . . And that's not the way to teach.

In effect, "learning on the job" is an integral part of work at Reed. Staff development as a formal set of activities or arrangements, however, has had a less central and less favored role here. For the past several years, schoolwide staff development has been organized exclusively in response to the requirements for human relations training that are part of the court desegregation order. By teachers' and administrators' accounts, these ventures have been flawed in several respects. Over time, flawed efforts (even if well-intended) have eroded teachers' faith in the ability of outside staff development to offer guidance with complex problems of the sort encountered in the last several years. Their views have been sharpened by the fact that most of the district staff development in which they have participated is a requirement of the court order: "force fails" is a recurring theme, and one administrator adds that inservices may have "done more harm than good." Still, teachers' and administrators' criticisms reveal legitimate questions and valuable insights. The past has disappointed in ways that appear to be remediable. And some recent, smaller-scale involvements in the district's mastery learning training program exhibit some possibilities that could conceivably be expanded here.

SCHOOLWIDE INVOLVEMENTS WITH STAFF DEVELOPMENT: COURT-ORDERED INSERVICE

Until the onset of desegregation, teachers here had been accustomed to upgrading their own teaching by participating in university classes and occasional conferences or workshops; improvement was an individual obligation, reflected in individual classrooms. With desegregation, the responsibility for improvement became collective and the issues bearing on improvement became visibly larger and more complex than individual teachers could resolve in individual classrooms. Schoolwide inservices, involving

276

the entire school staff, were presumably directed at building the capabilities of administrators, teachers, specialists, custodians, and others to negotiate this changed situation in ways that would foster comparable achievement across groups and improved intergroup relations.

Judging by teachers' and administrators' descriptions, those efforts were not successful.[1] Teachers at Reed note gradual and steady improvement in teachers' relationships with black students, in intergroup friendships, and in the academic accomplishments of the black students; they do not, however, attribute those effects to any contribution made by inservice workshops:

> T: The workshops have not done enough. I can see in this building that people's attitudes have changed since the busing first started and it's just because of their continual contact with the kids, you know. It's not because of anything that the workshop has done.

Nonetheless, teachers do not even now play down the difficulties and the turmoil of integration. Assistance would have been welcome. In their views, assistance has been inadequate in three ways.

Relevance and "Practicality"

First, staff development programs have not achieved the kind of conceptual clarity or practical specificity that would lead teachers to understand a situation more fully or to address it differently. In the early stages of desegregation, as teachers coped with conflict and confusion of several sorts, they found that their established routines for organizing instruction and sustaining classroom order simply did not work. There were sit-down strikes, verbal confrontations, and physical fights. Teachers' interests centered on simply getting through the day. Concern for instruction took a back seat to concerns for a certain social and physical stability in the building.

Perhaps anticipating some of the social turmoil that would be spawned by desegregation, the court ordered that inservice training for school personnel stress aspects of social relationships. As teachers and administrators reconstruct these inservice sessions, they addressed issues of social integration by concentrating on characteristics of *groups*, rather than characteristics of *situations* as teachers encountered them in hallways, lunchroom, and classrooms. The concentration on group differences was accompanied by an emphasis on what *not* to do and what *not* to expect that, in the words of one teacher, "only helped us to panic."[1]

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[1] One teacher reports that it took two or three years for the majority of the faculty to learn to describe black students in other than racial terms. Similarly, it took staff a long while to understand that separate programs or units in "black studies" or "black literature" only perpetuated a separate status for new minority students. The combination of a radically new situation and old habits made discoveries slow to come and hard to recognize.

> T: We had some inservice training in which they said, "Now you don't use the word 'boy,' you don't lay your hands on the black students, you don't touch them". . . so many mannerisms, so many techniques you were told you couldn't do, that you almost panicked and said, 'What *can* I do?' You know.
>
> I: Was there anything about the inservices that you really found helpful?
>
> T: The inservice probably helped us to panic originally [laughs].

An effort to unravel actual situations, by contrast, would have lent some focus and would have conveyed to teachers that others were willing to come to terms with the same kinds of decisions that teachers and administrators had to make day after day:

> T: Say you have this situation. If the person [speaker] can address that situation, then it helps me focus in a lot better. If the teacher says, 'What would you do in this situation?' and the speaker is not afraid to go out on a limb and say, 'This is what I think should be done given certain circumstances.' . . . Otherwise, speakers will say, 'Well, I'm not that familiar with that situation and I really can't deal with it.' And they'll just evade it. It's like they're afraid to really jump in and take a stand, which is what we have to do every day in the classroom.

According to some teachers, the cause of "social integration" might have been advanced more readily by training in techniques for classroom instruction and classroom management that were appropriate for the new, more heterogeneous, situation:

> T: The emphasis is now getting back to instruction where it should have been all along. But we overlooked it for years.

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[1] According to one teacher, the prevailing stance toward desegregation was that it was a "bad" situation. A different viewpoint and a different set of tactics might have emerged, he claims, had the district concentrated on generating the image of a "new" situation that might be tackled much as one tackles a difficult problem in mathematics.

> They were more concerned with social integration. We spent a lot of time, had a lot of workshops on human relations and how to deal with children in integrated classrooms, and the minority child and things having to do with getting along.

In addition, the concentration on group characteristics and group relations may have obscured some of the other sources of turmoil in newly integrated buildings. At least one administrator traces the problems of those early days not to group racial conflicts but to the massive dislocation that accompanied desegregation.

> A: Our biggest problem didn't come from black kids. Our biggest problem came from ninth graders who had been two years at their own school and then were forced to come to a new school as a ninth grader. . . . They were the kids who had been elected to the student council and they were kids who were going to be class officers and they were thrust into a community where they didn't feel like they belonged.

Further, when "practical" advice was offered in the course of human relations inservice training, teachers frequently found it to be questionable advice. Some suggestions emphasized teachers' obligations to promote group belonging and to accommodate group characteristics, but did not account for teachers' other pressing obligations:

> T: The one we laugh about so much was one where we had an individual who came out and told us that the biggest thing we had to remember was that black kids are different. And it just made me furious, because there was one thing we didn't need to hear. . . . At least I felt the blacks weren't different. And he said, you know, "When that little kid calls you a mother, what you're supposed to do is put your arm around him and go sit on the steps and eat a bag of fritos with him." Well, you know, how idealistic can you be? "What do I do with the other twenty-nine kids in class?" the teacher says. And I mean, this was the type of thing they were throwing out at us and all it did was to build a bigger barrier with the teachers who were having problems to start with.

Other advice, when followed, only escalated the trouble:

> A: And then at that time the big thing was to have rap sessions. You know, so we put a hundred and fifty blacks in the auditorium and say, "Now what's the matter?" Then you'd have screaming and hollering and shouting with nobody to control it, and then ring the bell and send them out into the halls. And every time we tried it we had a riot.

And still other advice called for actions well outside the control of teachers. One recent speaker, pressed by teachers for "radical" solutions, talked about eliminating compulsory education.

In sum, at a time when teachers were faced with diverse, often diffuse, obligations for academic achievement, intergroup harmony, and individual or group belonging, the most common inservice topics and treatments offered little assistance.

> T: The workshops weren't that effective. I think they learned by experience, either by trying different things or by watching others.

> A: Most of our faculty had a very difficult time adjusting to blacks.
>
> I: How did they? How did they manage?
>
> A: Well, you know, we had all the inservices . . . but . . . those were complete bomb-outs.[1] In most cases they were the idealistic approach, which had absolutely nothing to do with the real world that we were having to live in.

These critical remarks raise certain questions about the degree to which and the way in which outside staff development might achieve the kind of relevance and "practicality" that teachers and administrators require. There are several issues at stake here. First is the issue of broad topical relevance. Are outsiders sufficiently in touch with teachers' and administrators' work in schools to judge which among several potentially relevant topics deserves most thorough and most immediate attention? At Reed this general relevance is sought in part by polling teachers about their preferences for inservice topics.[2]

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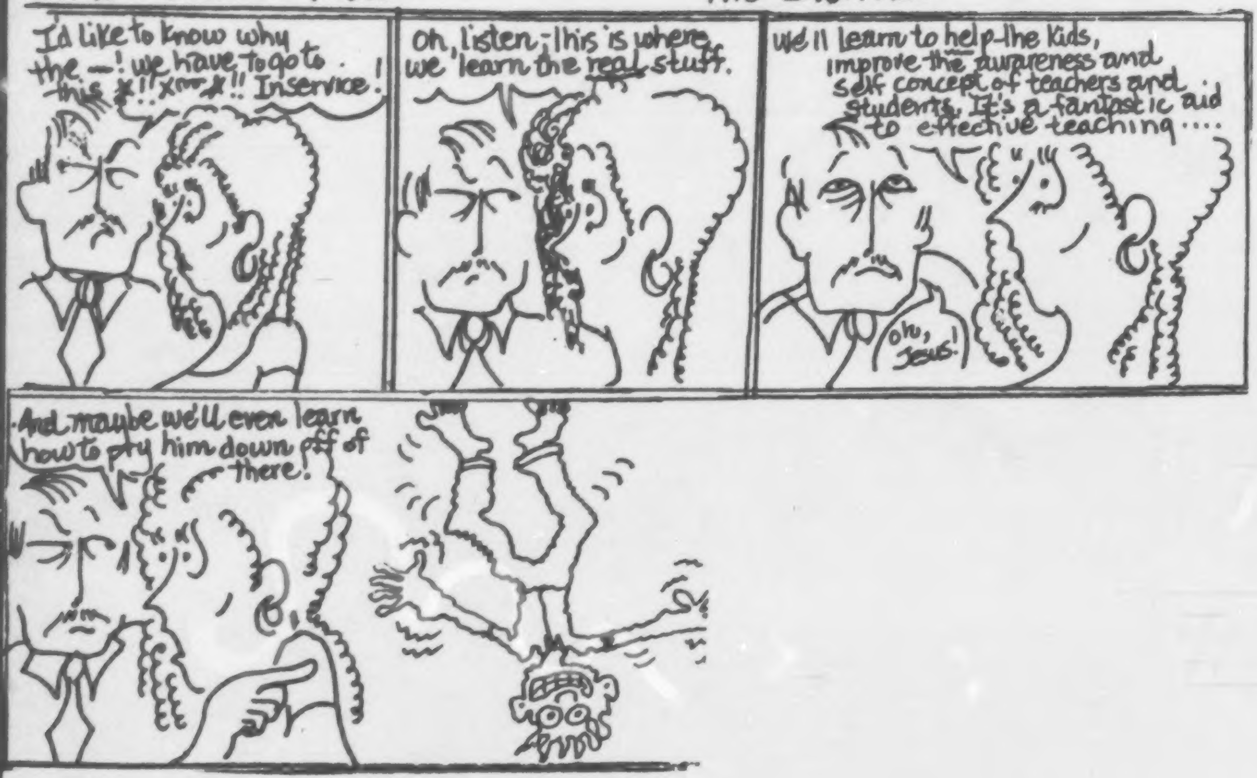
[1] On the whole, teachers register frustration or discouragement when they recall the role played by inservice assistance during the early years of desegregation; at a time when they needed assistance, little was forthcoming. Now, when they feel less in need of assistance, they tend to "tolerate" the twice-a-year sessions. Some cultivate a kind of wry humor about them. The cartoon on page 160 was done by two teachers during an inservice meeting. Still, some teachers speculate that there simply were no experts who could have helped with the first year or two of desegregation--that the situation was sufficiently new and sufficiently complex that the search for authoritative outside advice was a fruitless venture.

[2] The value of a polling procedure to tap teachers' central interests and to stimulate the kind of thoughtful response needed to guide inservice preparation is uncertain here; teachers' response to the periodic poll may well be colored by their general indifference toward schoolwide inservices.

The Hallowed Halls. "The Inservice"


I'd like to know why the —! we have to go to this *!!x~~*!! Inservice!
Oh, listen,-this is where we learn the real stuff.
We'll learn to help the kids, improve the awareness and self concept of teachers and students. It's a fantastic aid to effective teaching....
Oh, Jesus!
And maybe we'll even learn how to pry him down off of there!

Ghitz and Bildgerath

The second issue is one of specific, situational relevance: are outside staff developers sufficiently knowledgeable about the day-to-day realities of work in urban desegregated schools (or *this* school) to make their ideas credible and their advice persuasive? Distance from the day-to-day work inevitably hinders outsiders' ability to prove useful to teachers or administrators. To some extent, outsiders must rely on the descriptive detail that insiders command as a point of departure for constructing realistic advice. (The district's increasing reliance on "talent from within" is noticed and praised by teachers here. Presumably, persons who have worked or are now working in district schools bring an understanding and a store of experience to their staff development work that others cannot contribute.)

A recent inservice illustrates how opportunities to accomplish "practicality" and relevance might be seized and how they are equally easily missed. On a previous occasion, teachers at Reed had been impressed by the arguments offered by a local psychiatrist, Dr. Carson. His arguments were persuasive in part because they relieved some of the stress teachers were feeling (e.g., "no teacher can reach all kids"). He was also persuasive, however, because he illustrated each principle of adult/child interaction with dramatic examples, with tapes of actual interaction that could be analyzed and interpreted, and with role playing in which he took all of the major parts. On the basis of that performance, teachers believed that he might be able to apply his arguments more specifically to cases of classroom practice. In a highly unusual move ("a first"), they invited him back for another session.

This second session failed to meet teachers' expectations. Based on teachers' accounts, their written evaluations, and on our own observation, there seem to be several reasons. First, Dr. Carson had attempted (in line with teachers' requests) to become more familiar with the school, so that his examples and advice might prove responsive to the interests and concerns actually expressed by school staff. He sent an associate to spend a day in the school talking to teachers, administrators, and students and visiting classrooms. She, in turn, summarized her impressions in a short written report and submitted them to Dr. Carson prior to his next scheduled meeting at the school. This strategy proved to be symbolically strong (it impressed teachers with his willingness to learn their views), but functionally weak (it didn't inform him well enough to make a difference that teachers could detect). By sending an associate, Dr. Carson relied heavily on the ability of a third person to convey to him an understanding that was both accurate and detailed enough to guide him in his comments during the forthcoming inservice. Yet the report is in fact only sketched in broad strokes. There are necessarily limits to what an outside visitor, previously unacquainted with the school, can learn in a single day's conversation and observation. Nonetheless, there may have been some untapped possibilities. The visit might have been structured around some of the key arguments that teachers drew from the earlier session. For example, teachers were attracted by an argument about building responsibility in students by creating situations in which they in fact had the option to act responsibly or irresponsibly, and to witness the ways in which their choices were clearly tied to consequences. A useful analysis might have followed from an attempt to catalogue some of teachers' present, observable practices in light of the "responsibility" argument. Assuming that the time of a single outside observer is too limited to manage such a chore on any meaningful scale, Dr. Carson might have encouraged teachers to "prepare" for the second inservice by each documenting two instances in which they believe interactions with students contributed to responsibility, and two instances in which they were uncertain how to proceed, uncertain of their effects, or reasonably sure they had undermined their own intent. (Teachers report that they rarely are in a situation in which it is both permissible and valuable to say, "I blew it.") Teachers' stated preferences for staff development lead clearly in the direction of collaborative work among fellow professionals; by arranging for shared preparation for the second inservice, Dr. Carson might have insured that he could deliver practical and relevant analyses and might have built greater teacher interest and commitment.

The promise of relevance in this instance was jeopardized in other ways as well. In the effort to be cost-efficient, to complete the requirement for court-ordered inservice, and to spread "good" consultants more widely, schools team up for inservices. In this case, staff from two other junior high schools were present, making an audience of over 200, of whom two-thirds had not heard the earlier presentation. The possibility for cumulative and increasingly specific understanding that might have come with a second session with the same speaker was lost when most of the available time had to be spent informing the newcomers. Disappointed, Reed teachers wrote in their evaluations that the inservice had been "repetitive" and "redundant."

In sum, the question here is whether staff developers can be made sufficiently knowledgeable about the views and experiences that prevail in a school, a department, or a classroom to give a credible performance. The evidence is that one of two conditions must apply: either the speaker/consultant must spend enough time in the school to become informed of the day-to-day realities; *or* the inservice session itself must be constructed to draw systematically and rigorously upon teachers' own descriptions of situations and interactions.

A third issue is the "state of the art," i.e., the degree to which the present level of outsiders' knowledge, skill, and experience is adequate to the task at hand. In the early stages of desegregation, there is some question whether any single outsider could have equipped teachers to ease group conflicts and to reorganize classroom approaches.[1] As the situation has gradually stabilized and teachers' interests have focused on instruction and curriculum, staff development programs have been able to draw on a knowledge base that is more firmly established, more subject to widespread agreement, more easily tied to teachers' traditional views of their roles, and more readily translated in terms of desirable behaviors and practices (rather than desirable attitudes and feelings).

Frequency: Time for Reflection and Practice

A second flaw was that formal inservices took place too infrequently[2] to support any systematic and collective attention to ideas and methods, or to support any cumulative understanding and practice. By teachers' descriptions, these inservices were not atypical of teacher training generally in this regard. Recalling their undergraduate preparation and many of their graduate courses, teachers claim that formal training seriously underestimates the amount of time and practice required to test approaches and to build competence and confidence.

> T: I took a class with a professor who lectured for ten or twelve sessions on methodology of social studies. And someone said, "Well, why don't you put some of that into practice?" And he said, "Well, you're going to get a chance to do that in the last week, you know." And everyone had five or ten minutes to present a lesson.

> T: Every education course that I ever was in was taught by ninnies. They seemed to feel that with fifteen minutes' practice you should be able to go in and know everything about classroom management and controlling the class, and how to set up a lesson. . . . You can't do it.

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[1] This district underwent desegregation in the early 1970s. Much of the case study literature that describes in detail the practical realities of desegregation is a product of the mid- and late 1970s. Many of the insights that have grown out of earlier desegregation in the south remained unanalyzed and unrecorded when this district's desegregation lawsuit was filed in 1969. Even assuming some parallels between urban desegregation in the south and the north, this district had little systematic knowledge and experience on which to draw.

[2] Frequency will not make up for irrelevance, but it may force it as an issue. And where the assistance is considered relevant and useful, frequent and regular contact appears essential, especially in the early stages of any new venture.

For most teachers, throughout most of their formal training there has been little opportunity to combine practice and reflection in a way that contributes to skill and satisfaction over time. They made the same observation with respect to the inservices intended to assist desegregation.

The requirement of the court order was that school staff receive five hours of training in human relations each school year. At Reed, this amounted to one two-and-a-half-hour session after school each semester.

> T: . . . they thought they could improve human relations by presenting a workshop twice a year for two and a half hours.

Teachers' accounts of "learning on the job" belie any claim that a good teacher can simply take a good idea and run with it. Even under ordinary circumstances, teachers claim that it takes time to master good teaching. (Recalling their first exposure to the job, teachers estimate that it takes from three to five years to be capable of "directing someone else's learning.") Desegregation was in many respects the equivalent of a first year on the job. Developing the competence and confidence required to do a good job in a newly desegregated school could reasonably be expected to be an equally lengthy process.

These remarks raise the question whether outside staff developers can engage with teachers or administrators with the kind of frequency and regularity required to exert influence on habitual perspectives and practices. This is an issue of limited resources and raises questions of staff development's ability to pursue the kind of consulting relationships that might produce lasting effect. Teachers are skeptical that much benefit can be derived from twice-a-year lectures, yet the principal and several teachers noted with some sympathy that district staff are spread too thin to be much of a resource to individual buildings.

At the same time, where the district has managed to arrange long-term partnerships, teachers do credit staff development with some influence. At Reed, the math department's recent involvement with the district's mastery learning team has led teachers to change their approach in the classroom and has apparently been instrumental in recruiting the participation of other faculty members in a training workshop held early in the summer.

Authorities and Experts

A third flaw was an overreliance on authorities and experts, and a corresponding underreliance on the knowledge, experience, and skills of teachers and building administrators. Teachers recall that inservices were generally designed for a speaker to lecture to the staff, possibly followed by small group discussion; control over the topic, its development, the nature of the ideas presented, and the advice given lay with the invited speaker. This nonreciprocal arrangement became a source of some irritation as teachers increasingly were disappointed by authorities whose knowledge offered no solutions to their most pressing problems. Teachers complain that speakers have no practical knowledge to draw from and begin their presentations by disclaiming any familiarity with the district. Teachers report that in much of the inservice associated with desegregation, they were confronted with a series of "experts" on one group or another who themselves were new to the practical realities of school desegregation. Whatever most "experts" were expert in, it was not the day-to-day reality of desegregating schools. Teachers came to discredit outsiders' knowledge of minority groups, human relations, "communication," and the like. Speakers, in turn, were dismayed by the open hostility of teachers who expected solutions to problems that were admittedly complex:

> T: There was always a great deal of hostility. Most of the people that I've had in here for inservices walked away saying, "Man, there's a lot of anger, a lot of frustration. They want me to give them answers. I'm here to learn, too. I don't have the answers. . . . We can't come in and solve their problems."

On this evidence, it seems that an expert/client arrangement virtually insures that clients will be disappointed and consultants blamed.

Under those circumstances, some arrangement for collaborative analysis of situations, definition of problems, and design of solutions might have added to teachers' sense of control and commitment; unilateral presentations, made once every six months by speakers unfamiliar with the immediate setting, on topics remote from daily experience and "translated" into bad practical advice, only served to escalate teachers' fears, anger, frustration.

These criticisms raise questions about how outside staff developers might achieve the proper reciprocity and deference required to stimulate teachers' interest and commitment as fellow professionals. Teachers resist events that they interpret as "someone telling us what to do." (They resist even more vehemently someone who offers advice while admitting readily that he or she could not do the job.) At the least, it appears, outsiders can create a willing audience by announcing recognition of teachers' skill and perseverence in the face of difficult circumstances. Teachers appreciate a "pat on the back." One recent speaker gained favor among Reed speakers by repeatedly crediting them with doing a good job under difficult circumstances, and by making some attempt to learn their perceptions of the school before conducting an inservice. His marked deference to teachers' capabilities placed teachers at ease and made them willing to hear him out.

There is some evidence here, though, that deference and nominal recognition have their limits. To achieve influence over teachers' practices appears to require more than simply crediting teachers' good work. It requires that staff development visibly draw upon teachers' knowledge to complement, develop, and adapt the knowledge contributed by outsiders.[1] One teacher distinguished good from bad visiting curriculum teams on the basis of their willingness to provide discussion, feedback, materials, or demonstrations, and to address an agenda constructed by teachers on the basis of recurrent classroom situations and observations.

> T: A resource team--resource! What approach do you use? How do you look at this material? Someone else's viewpoint to bounce off of. Teach a class if you are asked to. At least offer some input. I think a lot of these turn out to be one-day meetings of, 'Well, got any questions? Got any materials you want me to get for you?' That's not resource. You come and you say, 'Oh, you're doing this. . . . I've got these materials I can get my hands on. Would you like to try something new?' or 'So-and-so at this school I went to last year was doing it this way. Would you like to see some of their materials?' . . .
>
> I wanted positive or negative comments on [our classroom approach]. And then I wanted him to teach us an interpretation of a test, a brand new test that had come out. It's easy giving it, but interpreting it is a corker. There was a third thing . . . short-term objectives for each child. . . . And basically, there weren't too many comments [about the classroom]. We didn't get to the interpretation of the test. He just said use your lesson plans [for the short-term objectives]. But we had an hour and a half discussion of the pros and cons of special ed in the district. And so there was nothing.

In other examples, teachers report devoting substantial time and energy to projects that made substantial demands on their own resources but that simultaneously offered substantial gains in the classroom and satisfaction with work.

The requirement, it seems, is that staff development be designed in ways that take into account an active, rather than passive, teacher role.

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[1] Teachers will evaluate an inservice session favorably on the basis of the former, but do not talk about changing their teaching in the absence of the latter. In that light, teachers' evaluations of inservices are misleading cues to the influence exerted by staff development.

Summary

In all, teachers suggest that staff development might have had some influence here during the first years of desegregation if it had:

> Worked in collaboration with teachers and administrators to connect broad topics to specific situational concerns and questions. For example, if social integration and group status were issues of integration, what were six ways that school staff could rearrange extracurricular activities, class offices, and student council membership to offer some visible evidence of group membership and influence in the first year? If gaps in achievement were bound up with group status, what was the best way to organize curriculum placement and classroom instruction to preserve standards, close the gap, and minimize the social distinctions that attach to academic performance? These and other issues that teachers faced then (and still face)[1] are difficult and complex, unlikely to be understood or resolved in occasional short presentations.

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[1] Periodic conflicts over curriculum and over class assignment (i.e. the ratio of blacks to whites in each curriculum level) make painfully clear that the means for achieving equity are neither assured nor agreed upon. Teachers see no choice but to direct instruction to students' demonstrated level of knowledge and skill, and believe they can organize instruction most effectively and efficiently in relatively homogeneous classes. They believe, further, that by stressing hard work, accomplishment, and the belief that these students, like any others, can and will learn, the stigma that might attach to placement in "low" classes can be overcome. A parent who viewed the practice of differential placement, or tracking, as segregative on its face registered a complaint, leading to visits from representatives of the Office of Civil Rights. Understandably, this move placed teachers on the defensive, precluding discussion about the relative merits of either view. Certainly, such issues are not easily unraveled or easily resolved. They are further complicated in two ways. First, the rationales that teachers offer to defend some policies or practices are not uniformly supported by classroom practice. For example, our interviews and observations suggest that the ways in which teachers distinguish their instruction in "high" and "low" classes may in *some* instances reduce the prospects for students in low classes (predominantly black students). Teachers of *some* low classes speak of fostering "a feeling of success" by occupying students with tasks they already know how to do (e.g., copying notes from the board) or describe lessons that are "relaxing." (One teacher who proceeds in this fashion notes that students do not believe him when he tells them they shouldn't regard the class as a "dummy class.") Other teachers, by contrast, reportedly and observably stress hard work and cumulative growth in all their classes, pushing equally hard and systematically in low as in high

Worked to cultivate and support *in-school* arrangements by which recurring issues and questions could be addressed on a regular basis without unduly exhausting the limited resources for outside assistance.

Used outside experts primarily as a supplement to and partner of teachers and administrators, thus visibly drawing on and building the knowledge, experience, and skill of persons who were spending their days learning the practical realities of desegregation.

POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTIONS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT: THE MASTERY LEARNING PROGRAM

Several months prior to our observations, several teachers from Reed participated in a week-long training session in mastery learning. Among the participants were one member of the English department, one member of a special program team, and four of the five members of the math department. The experiences that these six persons report underscore certain possibilities for secondary school involvement in staff development.

Strengths of the Mastery Learning Program

Teachers describe four features of their training that supported them in applying new ideas in practice.

(1) *A good idea*. The ideas around which the training was organized were thought by teachers to be well founded in theory,

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classes. Quite apart from any defense drawn from current theory or research, then, it appears that the rationale for homogeneous or heterogeneous classes must be examined in light of the actual practices that are intended and employed and the effects they achieve. In addition, investigation of these complex (and emotion-laden) issues is complicated by what one teacher described as "some residual frustration and anger" from the massive dislocation that accompanied desegregation. The flames are undoubtedly fanned when difficult issues become the target of adversary moves that make balanced exploration and discussion difficult.

well researched, and rigorously treated in the training session.[1] In the week-long training session, elements of theory were introduced sequentially over a week's time by instructors who were themselves familiar with the theoretical base and with its confirmation in research and practice. Asked what attracted them to the mastery learning approach, each of the teachers stressed first that "the mastery concept itself is logical."

(2) *Opportunities to practice.* Training in mastery learning was organized in three ways to encourage teachers to apply the ideas in practice. First, the training session itself "modeled" the mastery learning approach. Objectives were stated clearly each day, followed by a presentation of one element of theory, opportunity for group (guided) practice, then independent practice. In that sense, the training session served as an inescapable example of theory-into-practice, and offered some imagery of actual practice that teachers could not hope to get simply by talking about the approach.

> T: The mastery learning people run a mastery learning [training] class just like a mastery unit is run. They present the goals, they tell you what you are expected to do at the end of the week, they make sure that you've got the different concepts . . . and then they broke it down into different components on how to do this. . . .

Second, each day's training included time to practice with newly presented ideas. Over the course of a week, teachers were expected to complete the major sections of a curriculum unit.

> T: They had a different thing each day . . . and they explained it . . . and then we would work. When we were writing our program, we did have somebody come look at it and say, 'Yes, you need this,' 'No, you don't need this,' or 'Your wording is wrong here.'

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[1] Teachers here do not dismiss the role of theory in education; they only insist that its treatment be properly rigorous. Teachers complain when professors or consultants sketch broad outlines of a theory with little or no attempt to explore the extent to which it is supported by current research, or to illustrate the ways in which particular school practices reflect particular theoretical assumptions:

> T: "Just theory" to me is something that's been taught to teachers over years and years and years and has not changed. . . . When I took education psychology, it was ridiculous. We read out of a textbook, and we were not encouraged to do any work on our own, reading about research studies that had been done recently and that sort of thing.

Over the course of a week, teachers prepared a curriculum unit organized in terms of mastery learning principles. That unit, in turn, served as the basis--a kind of "script"--for subsequent classroom practice.[1]

And finally, there were provisions for followup assistance intended to encourage continuous application once teachers returned to school. Teachers were promised editing and production assistance for any curriculum units they produced. Classroom observers were assigned to visit the classes of each participant five or six times and to offer specific advice on implementation. And a district consultant was made available to the building on a regular basis to meet with teachers, offer materials or advice, lend general moral support, and the like.

(3) *A block of time*. The training session itself required a full week of teachers' time, for which they were awarded release time from their classes. That initial immersion was sufficient to give a working acquaintance with a set of ideas, to build a shared vocabulary, and to complete the major components of a single curriculum unit. In that respect, a single block of time offered a solid point of departure for subsequent practice, even though confidence and skill in the approach required several months' practice in the classroom.

Improving Training in Mastery Learning

At the end of the training session, instructors solicited suggestions from teachers about improving the training sequence. Teachers here report that they made several suggestions then and in the following months, at least some of which they have observed in practice. Suggestions made directly to the mastery learning staff, and in interviews, suggest some of the changes by which this kind of training program could anticipate greater influence at Reed or other secondary schools.

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[1] Teachers report that having materials to fall back on greatly increases the chances that they will try out a new idea and that they will persist long enough to gain some confidence and skill. To date, staff development programs have insisted upon preparation of a curriculum unit only for those teachers taking the classes for college credit. By teachers' reports, however, that stance may be a disservice to those teachers taking the class out of sheer interest, since it fails to stress the importance of the completed unit as a direct contributor to success in the classroom.

(1) *Followup assistance.* By design, the training sequence provided time and personnel to assist teachers as they worked to apply the ideas presented in the initial one-week training.

First, teachers would have welcomed followup assistance that matched the original training session in its degree of rigor and organization. They were prepared to expose their classroom practice to the scrutiny of others and to spend time in conference. By their view, their willingness went unrewarded when conference "feedback" was devoid of careful analysis:

> T: I have told the mastery learning people two or three times that I didn't agree with the conferences we had. The way my interviews were conducted . . . I didn't think it was beneficial to me at all.
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> I: What's the interview?
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> T: A mastery learning person is assigned to each teacher. . . . They come over and observe your class and after the class they have an interview with you. . . . In [mine], he came in and visited my class five or six times. Every time during the interview he said, "You started the class by saying, 'All right, class.' You said this and this and this," and repeated every word I said. . . . And that was the end of the interview. . . . They were going to tell us what we did right and wrong, you know. But that was not telling me what I did right and wrong. . . . He said nothing except "you did this." That's the only way I was going to change. I still don't know whether I'm doing it right, except with talking to the other teachers that that's what they had done, too. But . . . I'm still not sure that any one of us knows that that's exactly what's wanted.

In addition, some of the teachers had been promised quick editing and production time on units being prepared collectively so that teachers could have them in time for the second semester. Here, too, teachers were attracted by a promise that went unfulfilled:

> T: We all wrote a program last year. We divided it into four equal parts. It would all be coordinated. Every one of us handed it all in together in a big notebook and gave it to them. They were to get it done by the end of the first semester. . . . We still don't have a whole unit. What good is that?

(2) *A realistic balance of available time and required work.* Second, teachers would feel less pressured and inadequate if they were given a realistic sense of the amount of preparation time required to develop individual units and to convert an entire

curriculum to reflect mastery learning principles. Teachers whose prior approach had been radically different found it difficult to complete even one curriculum unit in a week. Those who had been working for several months to apply the approach reported to their peers in a workshop that they expected it would take six months to gain confidence in the classroom and two years to design all the units and accumulate all the materials. The training could be improved, therefore, by some attention to stages of implementation.

(3) *Translating and extending the ideas in practice.* Third, teachers' ability to extend the approach on their own would be improved by systematic practice in "translating" to more diffuse curriculum areas than those tackled at first.[1] In preparing a first unit, teachers are encouraged to work on some relatively concrete part of the curriculum for which they are actually responsible. An English teacher, for example, picked a unit on grammar. She found it relatively straightforward to apply the principles to a unit on grammar but was somewhat at a loss to develop one in literature. A math teacher who found application in her field easy was uncertain how to create persuasive illustrations in other fields in order to train other teachers.

(4) *Encouraging team participation.* Fourth, teachers had greatest success in implementing mastery learning where they worked in teams on the design and preparation of curriculum units. At Reed, teachers in the math department and in one (team taught) special program were more enthusiastic and systematic adherents than were isolated teachers in other departments. In the week-long training sessions conducted by Reed teachers early in the summer, teachers working together appeared to make greater strides, to display greater interest and excitement, and to sustain hard work with more good will than those teachers who shouldered the whole job alone. Further, teachers working alone showed some inclination to attempt too much--to design units that were too comprehensive to be manageable either in the training session or in the classroom. On these grounds, it appears that team participation improves the prospects that complex ideas will be tried in practice.

PROSPECTS FOR GREATER INFLUENCE: THE CONNECTION BETWEEN IMPROVEMENT AND COLLEGIALITY

The reported experiences of Reed teachers with schoolwide inservice programs aimed specifically at desegregation and the experiences of a small number of teachers with a program on instructional improvement stand as revealing contrasts to one another. The mastery learning training appears to have achieved a certain influence by incorporating a focus, a collaborativeness, an allowance for time and reflection that were absent in other inservice programs. Where it was most influential, staff development also built on and contributed to a set of collegial relations already in place. Mastery learning has taken hold most visibly in the math department and in a federally funded program taught by a team of teachers. Teachers here characterize the math department and the federal program as "strong," with members who habitually work together. (Even the one member of the math department who did not take the training course has been drawn into the experiment by the others.) The central question that then emerges here is: What are the prospects that staff development can achieve broader influence here by conducting programs that are equally focused, collaborative, and extended? Is it the case that staff development can have an effect on a department or on a school only where strong collegial relations and a collective interest in innovation are already in place? Or can staff development itself stimulate the relations that in turn support teachers as they try out new ideas and practices? Teachers themselves are somewhat divided on the issue. Some observe that even one disinterested, critical, or "lax" teacher in a department can discourage the others from attempting anything new. Others believe that strong leadership and a strategy of starting small, with interested participants, could work over time to expand interest and involvement. And finally, teachers observe that even the math department has changed the nature and extent of its collegial involvement since the mastery learning training. A social studies teacher comments:

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[1] In the elementary schools which participated in a pilot program of mastery learning, these skills were built over a three-year period. For secondary school teachers, whose formal training consists of a one-week session prior to classroom practice, introducing these skills is more problematic.

> T: . . . the math department has that kind of cohesiveness at this point, more than they've ever had, because the math department has gotten into mastery learning. A number of those teachers have taken mastery learning, they have developed a number of mastery learning units, and so they have just worked together on it. They've used them together and so it's really brought them together more than they ever have before. They have always been a close group. . . . I don't think they've necessarily taught together like they are now, but that has come about because of the mastery learning thing.

The major opportunities for secondary teachers to display and be rewarded for their competence and confidence in the classroom have been bound up in subject area competence and thus, for traditional junior and senior highs, in department membership. Shared interests have typically been departmental interests, and the most salient professional relationships those among department members. Thus, asked about work in the school, persons turn quickly to a description of their own department, characterizing it as more or less "cohesive" and contrasting it to other departments in those terms. The prospects for staff development influence here thus appear to be closely bound up with the prospects for emerging patterns of collegiality within departments. What are the chances that teachers here will engage in more extensive work together in the interests of school improvement and sustained school success? The descriptions of work at Reed suggest several contributors on which staff development might build, and several inhibitors to collegiality with which staff development must contend.

Circumstances that *Favor* Greater Collegiality

(1) *Teachers pride themselves on being professional.* Teachers display an interest in and concern for issues of quality instruction that lead them to talk to others about the business of teaching. In a one-week period, conversations in the faculty lounge included discussion of a curriculum unit on digestion, techniques for introducing simultaneous equations, and observed improvements in the quality of lesson plans over a four- or five-year span. Teachers here characterize themselves as "academically oriented," saying that they maintained a commitment to achievement even with the turmoil of desegregation:

> T: . . . we've pretty much held to those standards. People in this school have not given up like maybe you hear they have in other schools. . . . A lot of them stayed in here and fought and said . . . "these kids are going to learn."

Now, most teachers report that the tone they set in class is relaxed yet businesslike. One teacher announces to his classes early in the year, "We're going to work in here every day." Another says they "launch right into work" at the first of the year, observing that the kinds of amicable social relations the district seeks among diverse groups tend to arise out of shared work in the classroom (rather than preceding it). Others stress that there is "no such animal as a 'free day' in here." In sum, widespread, shared and powerful commitment to learning acts in favor of teachers' commitment to continued improvement, and in favor of shared (collegial) efforts to sustain a successful school.

People here are accustomed to turning their attention to instructional improvement, to course design, lesson plans, and curriculum revision; they value organization and planning and have independently built habits of instructional improvement that, presumably, could be adapted for work in teams.

> T: The program that I teach is pretty much what I've pulled together myself.

> T: I started getting other books and putting together my own units, taking from this book this type of material. . . The two key elements of the unit that make it flow is having a table of contents listing everything, and then a glossary listing the terms and the way you are going to use them. . . .

(2) *There is a prevailing belief that "part of being a good teacher is being open to new ideas."* A math teacher reports that their collective exploration of mastery learning was a stimulus at a time when they were becoming "stagnant." Teachers in other departments talk with enthusiasm about initiating and developing ideas of their own or bringing back what they've learned outside into classes.

> T: I took that stuff right from my class, right from where I learned it, took it right to them and said, "Hey, listen! Guess what I learned last night?! Isn't this neat?"

Teachers here credit their continued success in part to the adaptibility and flexibility that they have been forced to develop in the face of persistent change. In that regard, external circumstances act as something of an incentive to continued investigation of new approaches, while the value placed on exploration and innovation legitimates certain kinds of talk among fellow teachers:

> T: If I find an activity that I think is really good, I'll say, "Hey, Beth, try this." And she is always open and receptive to ideas. And so she does the same in return. If she finds something, she'll tell me. And then I'll say to Hal, "Hey, have you tried this yet?" And we get things spread around that way.

In all, teachers characterize themselves and their peers as capable and committed; their view is shared by administrators, one of whom estimates that 90 percent of the faculty are professionally invested in their own work and in school success.[1]

(3) *Teachers admire extensive collegial work in departments (even when they feel neither compelled to emulate it nor certain how to begin).* One teacher distinguishes "real" from "fake" departments on the basis of the discussion that takes place among the members:

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[1] One administrator observes that the prevailing sense of competence and confidence on this faculty may encourage collegiality but *discourage* participation in formal staff development. He remarks that "teachers see themselves as capable and not in need of inservice."

> T: A real department meeting is to me developing a program, curriculum. Working on curriculum is an ongoing thing. Fake department meetings are, well, what we probably have throughout all of [the district]. Most of the ones I've been to are just department business: votes on things, um, 'See this new book and write your recommendation on it.'

> T: Basically what they [the math department] are doing in their meeting, they are tossing back and forth how they teach something.

Teachers in some departments say with some regret that "there is little sharing or exchange of ideas." Even teachers whose relations with fellow department members already include casual and regular "sharing" anticipate gains that might be made from more organized and focused work. Commenting on her department's informal arrangements for circulating materials or ideas for classroom projects, one science teacher observes:

> T: It's nothing formal. We don't ever sit down as a group and say, 'What have you found that works?' although I think that would be a good thing to do.

Along similar lines, one member of a team of teachers operating a federally funded program to increase attendance finds meetings useful only when they focus on matters of instruction, curriculum, materials, or teacher-student interaction; he registers some disgust at meetings taken up entirely by administrative business that could be handled in bulletins, or meetings that deteriorate into general gripe sessions.

By the evidence available to teachers, cohesive departments can be "made"; close working relationships have visibly emerged out of shared and focused work on matters of curriculum and instruction. One member of the math department who had been somewhat isolated from the others by virtue of a special assignment that reduced his class load (thus placing a heavier burden on the others) found that his willingness to let the others teach him mastery learning techniques eased what had been almost adversary relations: "Once we got involved in the teaching of algebra, we've gotten really close."

(4) *Teachers speak with enthusiasm of occasions on which they have advanced their understanding, improved their practice, and boosted their morale through shared work with other teachers.* In several instances, they credit other teachers with influencing their teaching, i.e., work with others has become the occasion for learning from and with others.

First, teachers credit their peers with introducing them to entire perspectives or approaches to teaching. Recalling her efforts to manage a diverse population of students with limited materials, one teacher says she adopted an approach to curriculum preparation from three other teachers working in an ESEA lab:

> T: I learned from being in an ESEA lab, an eighth grade social studies lab. Someone started it about twelve years ago, and they organized different books and different materials and made worksheets and had it set up in units. . . . It was the three teachers that put that originally together that really did influence me. Just teaching from the material showed me exactly the step-by-step organization I could apply to seventh grade social studies.

Similarly, the single teacher in the math department who received no formal training in mastery learning credits the others with "exposing" him to the approach and assisting him in applying it.

Second, teachers have cultivated "mentor" relations with experienced teachers or administrators to whom they turn for occasional advice. Teachers describe receiving "cues" from others about everything from grading systems to coping with "abusive language." An administrator remembers inexperienced teachers who found that simply being able to "talk things through" helped them to analyze situations, formulate problems, and arrive at solutions in ways they had been unable to manage alone.

Most of these examples stress helpful relations between experienced and inexperienced teachers, or relations that are forged as teachers struggle with new and unfamiliar situations. That is, they are relations that are in some respect asymmetrical, and by teachers' accounts they tend to wane as teachers gain experience and confidence (or are around long enough that they ought to have gained experience and confidence and thus may be viewed askance if they ask too often for help).

Third, teachers describe occasions of teaching one another about ideas or methods. They describe arrangements by which experienced teachers learn collectively about new practices or tackle difficult issues. Thus, one teacher claims that the recent introduction to mastery learning has, for the first time, placed him in the position of learning from and with his peers. He claims that in his previous years of teaching, he learned only about 10 percent of what he knows from other teachers, but that he has learned extensively from fellow department members this year in the effort to apply principles of mastery learning. Another teacher whose team teaching partner participated in the mastery learning training reports, "*We* got a lot out of it." By the time our interviews were completed, eleven teachers had signed up to be taught mastery learning by their peers in the math department. Teaching one another is an acceptable practice.[1]

Generally, the more focused the shared work has been, the more centered it has been on issues of curriculum or instruction, and the more that teachers have entered into it as fellow professionals, the more enthusiastic their endorsement and the more habitual their pursuit of collegiality. Thus, teachers whose collegial efforts have been organized around mastery learning or around other curriculum design projects work together with greater regularity and less ambivalence than teachers whose peer connections revolve around the periodic request for help or around completing administrative paperwork.

(5) *Teachers are frustrated by the amount of time it takes, working independently, to complete the design and preparation for any new venture:*

> I: When you said, "We need staff development," you're talking . . .
>
> T: Time . . . that would have worked with my social studies unit way back when. I wouldn't have had to have done it during the summers and nights. . . . It's a very time-consuming thing, but it's very integral if you are going to have a flow of materials. . . .
>
> T: People design things beautifully . . . but one thing they don't give us is the time to carry it out.

By teaming up, members of the math department were able to complete the conversion of some textbook chapters to mastery learning units, thus easing the preparation burden on each person. By contrast, a member of the English department, working alone, found it difficult to manage preparation on a scale large enough to give the ideas a proper test.

(6) *Teachers have discovered that implementing new ideas and methods can prove complex and difficult.* Collective commitments to participate appear to encourage individual teachers to persist long enough to witness the effects of their efforts. One math teacher reported that mastery learning has meant a "changeover" in his teaching that has taken six months to begin to grasp;

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[1] One teacher here suggested that the school could rely more extensively than it has on the talents of its own staff for inservice. Others, he claims, are capable and probably willing, "but they're never asked."

he has relied heavily on his fellow department members for understanding of key concepts, for advice on practical application, for shared work in preparing materials, and for general moral support when things go wrong. Shared planning and discussion equip teachers to undertake new practice in a way that simple initiative or a supply of materials cannot accomplish.

> T: It's a changeover. . . . We sat down for a day, and there were five of us and we did a chapter together. So I knew what was going on. I knew this came here, I knew this sponge came with this guided practice, and I was there in the planning so I was aware of it. [But] I was unable to take time off the next time, so four of them got together and made out plans for the rest of the year. And I got a copy of them, but I'm struggling to make them out because I wasn't there in the planning of them. And so I'm not as secure in how to teach it as I was when I was there when we discussed it.

Describing some of the difficulties of independent innovation, one teacher reports that old habits and the press of the immediate situation make it difficult to concentrate on a faithful application of ideas--even when teachers are convinced that the ideas have merit:

> T: I do try to do some of [these] things, you know, but sometimes in the heat of the battle, you kind of just get off on your own tangent.

On precisely those grounds, teachers in the math department complained that the district consultants on mastery learning who visited their classrooms could have adopted a more aggressive and rigorous stance in the conferences that followed observation, so that teachers might have developed greater assurance that they were making the proper connections between theory and practice.

(7) *Teachers increasingly recognize that school success requires a degree of shared agreement and a degree of continuity and coherence of program that simply cannot be achieved through the initiative, intelligence, good will and dedication of an individual teacher.* One teacher who has been introduced to mastery learning by others in the school predicted that the close attention to instruction and the emphasis on cumulative mastery would soon require teachers as a group to reconsider approaches to grading. Another teacher noted that her own ability to do a proper job in science classes would be enhanced if she had a clear understanding of other departments' expectations for performance:

> T: I don't know what the English teachers teach a seventh grader or what to expect of my seventh graders when they write a term report. And there was an example a couple

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> weeks ago where one of our science teachers assigned a report and told the kids to put footnotes in it. And the kids were stumbling around blind--they didn't know what a footnote was. . . . And like in math. We teach graphing skills in science, but I assume they get it in math, too, but I don't know when.

Where agreements have been reached--whether on instructional approaches or on the handling of disciplinary problems--teachers have witnessed an effect. Teachers in the math department report that their collective attention to mastery learning has brought improved performance, more willing classroom participation, and fewer disruptions. Agreement on a procedure for responding to tardiness has resulted in fewer violations and has increased teacher satisfaction. In all, innovation on a scale large enough to impact entire groups or an entire school appears to require a certain degree of collegiality in order to sustain it.

Circumstances that *Inhibit* Greater Collegiality

Operating in favor of collegiality (and strengthening its prospects for influencing school success) are a powerful set of views and habits that teachers and administrators alike characterize as "professional." Still, by teachers' accounts--and by our own observations--not all departments are equally collegial. Some teachers pursue an independent and autonomous course; some department chairmen are more assertive than others in promoting interaction within departments. Drawing from teachers' descriptions, there are several factors that inhibit collegiality at Reed.

(1) *Teachers subscribe to a set of views--in effect, a powerful set of norms--that make it difficult to initiate shared work.* Teachers' latitude to innovate in their collegial relations is not as great as their perceived latitude to innovate with respect to individual classroom practice.

First, teachers believe that it is wrong for one teacher to tell another teacher what to do. The conditions under which persons influence one another's practice are narrowly circumscribed. One experienced teacher hesitated to offer advice to a new team member even when it was clear that the new teacher was experiencing difficulty.

> T: Now I have a new teacher. She's a first year teacher and she has been willing to ask, and I said, "Well, until you asked I was not going to tell you because I'm a teacher in your classroom and that's teacher to teacher, and that's not right unless the other teacher is asking for help."

Others, observing what they consider to be weaknesses in others' teaching, or proclaiming the merits of some idea they would like to see adopted more widely, still maintain that they are "not in charge of the teachers" or that it's "not my job" to advise, correct, or analyze the practices of fellow teachers. (To the extent that the recent collaboration in the math department has worked, it may have been by virtue of constructing the work as "discovering together what to do" rather than "telling each other what to do.")

A corollary of this rule of "noninterference" is that teachers do not observe and comment upon one another's teaching. Even where teachers acknowledge the potential benefit from observing and being observed, they regard that practice as tightly bound up with formal evaluation. Explicit negotiation is required to place observation on a different footing. (Even where inexperienced teachers approach others frequently for advice, no offer of observation is typically made. According to one teacher, "That's not my job.") In this way, teachers have little opportunity to build a shared base of examples with the kind of relevance and imagery that could inform their discussion and could advance shared work.

On a second and related topic, teachers may acceptably initiate discussions of classroom practice or curriculum by "asking for help." In this sense, the conditions under which collegiality may be spawned place the initiator at a disadvantage in three senses. First, one must declare oneself in need of assistance (rather than declaring oneself curious or excited or certain). By raising curiosities or confusions with other teachers, one thus risks some damage to good reputation and social standing. One teacher recalls that in the past he has avoided talking to others about classroom situations or practices because it "might convey that I am not a good teacher."[1] Another teacher underscores this aspect:

> T: All they have to do is ask. Teachers are so helpful, really helpful, but you have to act like you really want to [get help].

Second, if collegiality is confined principally to periodic requests for help, one cannot reasonably engage in discussion with the frequency, regularity, and persistence likely to be needed in exploring and developing ideas.

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[1] It appears there is nothing in teachers' undergraduate preparation and nothing in most school work situations that enables them to separate discussions of *practice*--as the tools of the profession--from judgments of personal worth. One teacher observes that there is no provision for teachers to exclaim, "I really loused that up" with any prospect that the statement will prompt shared efforts to understand, analyze, and improve practice.

And third, "asking for help" requires that others be more knowledgeable than oneself in order to be viewed as useful sources of advice. Over and over, teachers explained that they didn't raise issues or questions with other teachers because "they're in the same position I am," "they don't know any more than I do," or "they're in the same boat." If help is the principal basis of interaction among teachers, being *equally* knowledgeable or *equally* experienced ceases to be a virtue or a resource.

Further, the occasional request for assistance creates little possibility that teachers will, over time, build a shared and precise language for describing and analyzing classroom situations. Questions may be asked and advice offered at a level of generality too great to be viewed as properly useful. Several teachers commented that asking others for help has never yielded much useful advice. One teacher recalled that in his early years of teaching he went to others "out of politeness" but with little expectation that what he received would improve his teaching. Another teacher remembers that his questions brought sympathy but no analysis and little advice. The experience of the math department at Reed suggests that teachers come to be useful resources for one another when they work together with some regularity and some demonstrable focus. Nonetheless, members of that department warn that building a valued interdependence takes time and persistence. By contrast to the smoothness with which bureaucratic business is handled, new attempts at collegiality may be initially unskilled and unsatisfying. Teachers in the English department abandoned the effort after some attempts to promote "sharing" in department meetings failed:

> T: We've tried to get these idea exchanges going, you know. Like somebody runs off a lesson plan, five or ten extra for everybody in the department. Well, that works about once. I mean, everybody brings one lesson and then phht, they're all doing their own thing again. I don't know, it just hasn't worked.

By this example, it appears that the simple willingness to expose one's ideas and materials to the scrutiny of others is not sufficient to stimulate their interest or influence their teaching; similarly, receiving materials from others is not enough to make a teacher want to alter an established routine. Judging by the contrasting experiences of the math and English departments, teachers come to credit each other's ideas and to use each other's materials when they engage in extensive, detailed discussion to establish a context for those ideas or materials. Circulating lesson plans will not, it seems, be enough to let people see how the lesson is derived from past work, how it contributes to future work, or how it is most effectively interpreted in the classroom.

And finally, teachers are ambivalent about the limits and possibilities that inhere in the department chairman's role. Some teachers tell tales of failed attempts to foster more discussion or to organize some joint project. While admiring the kind of leadership that sustains a cohesive department, one teacher still maintains that assuming that leadership is problematic:

> T: I think every good school that I've seen has real department meetings, half-day department meetings where the department head is saying, 'Well, you're really good in this area. Can we all together take an economics unit and you write one, and you write. . . ." I've seen it done. You get teachers working together. But I think you have to have a solid leader to walk in on that situation and organize it . . . and that can be touchy.

Thus, the rights of initiative that might spark greater collegiality are not clearly established among teachers. Several teachers look to the principal to encourage more shared work within departments, and to "open up avenues" for work among departments.

(2) *Teachers value and practice a certain independence and autonomy.* One teacher claims, "there are some strong people on the faculty who do their own thing and do it well." Others say, "I view myself as independent," or "I consider myself self-sufficient," and claim they would resist attempts to diminish the control they now have over their classroom practice. Independence is buttressed by the widespread belief that differences in practice are largely matters of "style," rightfully preserved through individual preference and largely inconsequential to school success.

(3) *Teachers have mastered new and unfamiliar situations largely unaided.* Learning by experience has frequently meant solitary reflection on the complex interactions that constitute teaching a class. Sink or swim, trial and error, and soul searching are typical images. In the eyes of one administrator, teachers' first years on the job reinforce the sink or swim aspect of teaching by building a view that needing help could jeopardize the job.

Desegregation in many respects threw teachers into the equivalent of a first year. Old routines did not work, and new routines were uncertain and unpracticed. In this situation, as in their first years on the job, teachers report that they managed largely on their own. One teacher observes that teachers changed over time through continual contact with diverse groups of children, and not because of anything introduced in workshops. Others trace the adaptability and flexibility of teachers here to the constant change in the situation itself; they maintain there was little or no organized assistance.

Teachers report a certain degree of success in working independently to discover the relevance of someone else's ideas for one's own work.

> T: As far as my grading system, a science teacher helped me to do that. He showed me how to grade by points. And I had never graded by points before. I always graded by letter grades, and I tried to weigh the homework, and weigh the classwork, and weigh the exams. And it was almost an unbelievable experience to get the grades out. . . . And then when I went back into foreign language, I went back to A's and B's and after one six-weeks period I decided, I'm going to figure out how to do points. I mean it isn't unusual or anything, but for me it was a discovery.

In sum, teachers have built and confirmed, in the course of their daily work, a view of "being a teacher" that does not require collegial work. (One teacher characterized it as a "cubbyhole" existence, in which one could satisfy the major obligations of the job without ever speaking to another teacher.) Teachers complain, too, that other obligations compete with collegial work, forcing teachers to reserve shared work for the hours after school, summers, evenings, and weekends. Further, teachers subscribe to certain views and defend certain practices that make the initiation of collegiality problematic even for those who value it.

III. SUMMARY

Continuous improvement, or "learning on the job," is very much a part of the work at Reed Junior High. Teachers and administrators take pride in the school's record of success, and teachers credit the present administration with a commitment to professionalism. Talk about instruction is frequent, and teachers seek new ideas. A set of views and habits prevails here that might be considered conducive to staff development, yet formal programs of staff development have had little role. The possibilities for staff development as a contributor to success at Reed have only recently been tapped. These recent and generally favorable experiences, together with the criticisms of other, less well-favored experiences, suggest four ways in which staff development might be designed to exert greater influence here and in other secondary schools.

First, staff development can initiate or join work with *groups* or units (departments, committees, interdisciplinary teams, and the like) that are substantially smaller than the entire faculty. Such groups are bound by certain shared interests or aims or experiences that establish a natural context for staff development, and they tend to be of a size (less than ten people) that permits shared discussion and shared work. On the evidence here, extensive work with one or two departments can achieve a broader influence as other teachers, witnessing their peers' enthusiasm and success, are attracted. Increasingly, teachers within the building have assumed--and been permitted--a staff development role with peers (at least with respect to the specific ideas and methods of mastery learning). In this fashion, the influence of staff development reaches an ever-expanding circle of teachers or departments without a comparable drain on the resources of district consultants.

Second, staff development appears most influential where it is *focused* around instruction and instructional improvement and where the topic is elaborated in sufficient detail that teachers can envision and begin a sequence of work. The simple availability of a resource person making general offers of help has failed to spark teachers' interest; the prospect of shared work around a problem, an interest, or an idea initiated by or proposed to teachers proves more appealing.

Third, staff development can exert influence here by engaging with teachers *long* enough and *often* enough to develop a set of ideas, to implement them in the classroom, and to reflect periodically on their progress. Judging by recent experience, this means contact once a week for a period of at least six months to one year.

And last, staff development is viewed most favorably here where it has been organized as a collaboration or *partnership* among fellow professionals, with a set of agreements that permit what one teacher calls "open discussion with the freedom to disagree." Proceeding in this fashion, staff developers gain valuable opportunities to expand their own knowledge of teachers' work; at the same time, they model and support a set of habits that make professional improvement a collegial venture, organized and conducted as often and as capably by teachers as by others.

SMALLWOOD ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION 187

SMALLWOOD IS CHANGING 188

II. TEACHERS' VIEWS OF WORK AT SMALLWOOD 190

A PROFESSIONAL OUTLOOK 190

WORKING TOGETHER: COLLEGIALITY AT SMALLWOOD 191

III. LEARNING ON THE JOB: TEACHERS' VIEWS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT 197

STEADY IMPROVEMENT 197

LEARNING FROM AND WITH COLLEAGUES 200

A PATTERN OF SELECTIVE INNOVATION 202

STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND THE MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE 203

IV. SUMMARY 206

I. INTRODUCTION

Teachers at Smallwood Elementary School pride themselves on a consistent record of academic achievement and community support. The school is a "successful school," one where teachers have relied principally on their own resources to preserve a certain standard of achievement in the face of increasing diversity and mobility among the student population. We included Smallwood in a study of school success and staff development precisely because its formal involvement in district-sponsored staff development has been minimal. We looked to teachers here for insights about how success is sustained in the absence of staff development, with the aim of revealing those aspects of work in a relatively successful school that might inform future programs of staff development in the district.

Teachers here attribute the school's success and its favorable reputation among other district teachers to four factors.

(1) Smallwood has a relatively stable, highly cohesive faculty with a long history of close social and professional relationships. Of the teachers interviewed,[1] 98 percent share the view that teachers here are "flexible," "cooperative," "open," "warm," "friendly," and "helpful." Teachers consider their cohesiveness a major source of strength, contributing to continuity across grade levels and to the cumulative development of shared curriculum emphasis and core materials. They point to the frequency with which they "talk shop," talking about and working together on matters of shared interest. Most teachers here feel they have ready access to the ideas and materials of fellow teachers and credit the school's enduring success in part to teachers' willingness to assist one another.

(2) Teachers at Smallwood consider themselves and their colleagues to be professionals: capable, committed, and self-confident. They stress the importance of academic achievement and pride themselves on quality instruction.

(3) Teachers credit building principals with being consistent supporters of teachers throughout the school's twenty-five year history. The current principal (only the third the school has had) is in his second year at Smallwood. Though his expectations for teachers differ in some important ways from those of his immediate predecessor, he is viewed as another in a series of "good principals." Teachers report that he is free with his praise of good work, that he is openly encouraging and supportive of innovation ("try it--see if it works"), and that he backs teachers

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[1] All but one of the school's twenty teachers participated in the study.

in the face of problems. He is considered knowledgeable about "the system" and has demonstrated his ability to capture resources for the school. He is visible throughout the school and the neighborhood, frequently walking several blocks with students at the end of a school day.

(4) Teachers attribute their ability to sustain their success in part to favorable external circumstances. Smallwood has been relatively untouched by the formal provisions of court-ordered desegregation (pairing and busing). It is a neighborhood school with a student population that is mixed both ethnically and economically.[1] Parents have been cooperative and supportive through the years, though teachers report that in recent times parents have been less helpful and children more likely to arrive at school each day unprepared.[2]

SMALLWOOD IS CHANGING

Teachers are almost uniformly enthusiastic about Smallwood as a place to work, but note that it is changing in response to internal and external pressures. The new principal encourages the adoption of new practices--a departure from the stance of the previous principal who worked at maintaining the status quo. In the eyes of one teacher, the former principal "sheltered" teachers from external demands; in the eyes of another, he acted as a kind of "benevolent dictator . . . so we never tried anything new." The new principal seeks opportunities to participate in district-sponsored programs and encourages teachers to explore new ideas. While some teachers feel pushed, others welcome the change: "He wants the best and goes after it."

With the pressures of court-ordered integration and increasing student mobility, the district, too, is forcing change. This school adopted a reading package this year--the last of eighty-nine elementary schools to do so. Many teachers here are ambivalent about that decision. They complain about district decision-making practices that affect their teaching while appearing to ignore their cumulative experience. With respect to the reading package, teachers are uncertain whether the approach required by the package(s) is a demonstrable improvement over their established practices and consider their previous success to have been discredited by the decision to change methods:

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[1] In September, 1979, the school's population was 54 percent White, 41.4 percent Hispanic, 2.1 percent Black, 2.3 percent Oriental, and .7 percent American Indian. Teachers and principal characterize the neighborhood as ranging from "low income" to "middle class."

[2] Although a generally positive view of the community prevails, conversations in the faculty lounge suggest that some teachers feel that "kids are not as well behaved or motivated" as they were years ago, and "failure slips sent home to parents produce change for a while, but then you lose communication." Some teachers worry that the perceived change in family support or community expectations will lead to lower expectations among teachers. One teacher was concerned that teachers will "lower standards by moving at a slower pace or having kids repeat when they don't need to."

> T: Everybody was on a reading package but us. So it was really on our back; we had to prove to the world that we, as teachers, could teach just as well as they, as publishers. And I think all of our teachers worked ten times as hard because we were trying to prove this. . . . You take a pride in yourself and you want to say, 'Hey! I'm trained. Somebody said I was a professional, now let me prove that I am. Let me see what I can do.' And I really do think a lot of Smallwood's reading is because of this. We wanted to teach reading.
>
> I: You'd prefer to stay in the non-package?
>
> T: Oh, I'd love to stay that way. But we have no choice any more. I think we were the only school in the whole district that was on the non-reading-package and we've shown the most progress over a period of three years. [laughter] So . . . at least this was what they told us. And then they come out saying that well, that's the end of it; now you go to the other style.

Some members of the faculty detect this year a certain strain, a weakening of teacher morale, that they attribute to the increased pressures for change. One teacher reports:

> T: Morale is not as good this year. Teachers are only doing about thirty percent as much socializing as they used to. . . . Some of the changes [in morale] are due to the changes that have accompanied the new principal. We were sheltered from a lot of the programs you're probably investigating. The previous principal was a 'wait-and-see' guy, not the first to try anything. Instead of doing a lot of special programs, we were teaching. Now I hear the complaints.

Others, however, welcome the impetus to innovation and improvement, and most continue to stress that the faculty is "super" and that the "spirit of cooperation" remains strong.

Teachers stress two aspects of work at Smallwood. First, they highlight certain professional commitments: to the belief that children can learn and should learn in school, to the belief that teachers influence students' performance, and to the obligation for quality instruction. In this respect, the work situation here offers support for continuous improvement of the sort sought by staff development. Second, teachers stress close collegial relationships. In several respects, teachers at Smallwood rely on one another in the same fashion that teachers elsewhere may rely upon external staff development. In this respect (and quite apart from teachers' substantive interests) the work situation at Smallwood may operate to discourage outsiders' involvement with teachers for purposes of school improvement.

A PROFESSIONAL OUTLOOK

Teachers stress their commitment to learning, agreeing that "kids are the first priority" and judging good teachers as ones who "convey interest in the kids every minute." They are confident in their own capabilities and in their ability to stimulate good performance on the part of their students. Looking back on a record of consistently high test scores, they voice confidence in the adequacy of their established practices.[1] Professional competence and professional improvement are obligations of the job and teachers' achievements are judged on these grounds.

Standards for teacher and student performance are well formulated and clearly articulated, the result of numerous informal conversations among teachers. Teachers here stress thorough planning and preparation, believing that well-designed and well-organized instruction contributes both to student learning and to classroom management.

> T: I try to also have the setup on the board, too, in the mornings, have the assignments ready. . . . I think there's some comfort to that in the sense that they can look up there and they can see what they're going to be doing.

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[1] Predictably, teachers here cast a cautious eye on proposed "improvements." The kinds of improvements that teachers frequently mention are, in fact, in areas that are beyond the power of teachers (or staff development) to influence. One teacher observed that the overall district policy requiring that students be directly supervised by an adult at all times limits the opportunity to teach young people responsibility and independence. He contrasts the policy with that of another large urban district in which he has taught--but holds out no particular hope that there will be any change.

Those who are given new assignments report extensive preparation and discussion. One teacher describes her summer preparation to teach the new reading package:

> T: I just made myself study an hour a day. And I read through the manual until I was more familiar with it. And then of course every day now I read ahead as to what they want us to do for that lesson, because I know what I used to do. And I kind of have to school myself to do it the other way.

Another teacher reports his efforts to manage a change in grade level assignment:

> T: With me there was an awful lot of homework. And even now I rarely spend less than two hours a day--I'm almost always here an hour and a half to two hours beyond school just trying to get things ready, because I still have a lot of areas that I don't feel comfortable in so I'm doing a lot of extra work in them.

Together, a prevailing concern for and curiosity about student learning and a commitment to thorough preparation add up to an expectation for professionalism that most teachers here voice and enact.

WORKING TOGETHER: COLLEGIALITY AT SMALLWOOD

Teachers at Smallwood, with few exceptions, celebrate their collegiality. They value the enduring relationships they have forged with peers, characterizing their interactions with fellow teachers as "helpful." Most say with some pride that "there are no secrets here," and say that "we take it for granted that there's sharing until someone reminds us that not all buildings are like that." They report spending time over lunch or during planning periods trading ideas, building a shared file of materials, talking over a classroom problem, or working out the details of a new program.

Teachers' sense of cohesiveness is sustained in several ways. First, teachers engage in informal, periodic problem solving. They jointly resolve discipline problems that one teacher alone has been unable to unravel; they compensate for what they consider their own weaknesses by turning to others for advice or assistance. One teacher praised some of the other faculty for their ability to "disarm others by exposing their own weaknesses."

Second, teachers rely upon each other to offer help in the face of new and unfamiliar situations. Recently, with the introduction of the new reading package, teachers have worked together to ease the burden on preparation and to sort out common problems (e.g., testing and grouping of students).

> T: When we first started [the reading package] we spent a lot of hours--lunch hours, gym times and all. And I'd give her ideas and she'd give me ideas and we put it together finally.

In another instance, a teacher whose grade level assignment was changed relied extensively on fellow teachers for assistance with curriculum, classroom techniques, materials, and even tone and vocabulary:

> T: [I got] lots of help on how to present these things, help getting my mind down to a third grade level instead of talking over them. They'd often let me just come in and watch during my planning period so that I could not so much see *what* they were doing but see *how* they were doing it. Getting materials for me . . . and stuff like this.

Third, teachers contribute to one another's knowledge and store of technical resources. They keep an eye out for materials they know another teacher might want or need, they contribute to one another's files, and create shared files. Generally, teachers have created a situation in which the written and other technical resources of teaching are widely available and regularly discussed throughout the building:

> T: I think one of the things that we enjoy here and perhaps one of the reasons why the faculty stays together so long is that no one feels like they can't use an idea they hear from someone else, or see from someone else. A lot of the things that I do I've learned from--especially in the third grade here--were direct--what?--pickups from other teachers.

In related fashion, teachers acknowledge and build on each other's strengths and preferences by working together to rearrange teaching assignments. In the primary grades, teachers trade students for reading instruction to reduce the heterogeneity in each class and to give each group a longer period of continuous instruction. Two teachers at one grade level arranged informally to trade instruction on music and social studies in order to draw upon each person's skills and interests. Still another two teachers rearranged class loads to accommodate the needs of twenty students who needed additional work in math:

> T: He took the twenty and I asked him to. It was like I told you. I wasn't as well grounded in math as he was, I thought, for teaching these twenty, but I thought for the broad, general areas I could handle the group. . . . So he saw my point because he had, he's had reams of materials and years of practice in working with these.

And finally, teachers rely on one another for periodic and selective feedback about their teaching. In the lounge, the progress of a class or of individual students is a common topic of discussion, with teachers comparing notes and assessing what went right or wrong the previous year. One teacher said:

> T: Reading, I'm still not sure whether I understand whether they're on level or not with reading. Like I say, that's my hardest area. I can teach them things but I don't know . . . if they've mastered it the way they should or whether I should have a little bit more or I'm expecting too much. So I just keep going and when they learn something I'll start something else. I haven't had any complaints from the fourth grade, like they were too far behind. This is another feedback we get, too.
>
> . . . somebody will say, 'Well, they just don't know their beginning vowel sounds this year.' The teachers that had them last year may say, 'Well, they were so far behind when I got them I never did get that far.' Or they might say, 'I just plain goofed.' I've heard that type of comment. But what it does then is that the next year at least that area is not weak. [laughter]

In sum, teachers here credit one another as reliable and regular sources of information, assistance, and reciprocal support. They have cultivated a set of beliefs and a set of habits that support professional improvement. By their accounts, there exists at Smallwood a strong basis for continuous growth and for sustained competence and confidence even in the face of change.

Nonetheless, teachers' accounts also provide some evidence that collegial interactions are in certain respects limited and that those limitations keep teachers from tapping each other's knowledge, experience, and skill as fully as they might.

First, the solidarity of the group is preserved in part through a kind of mutual tolerance--independence and autonomy in the midst of "closeness." While there are those areas in which teachers agree on standards for teaching and for student performance, specific instructional approaches are considered the province of the individual teacher. No single philosophy of education is endorsed uniformly or applied collectively. One teacher reports that teachers "seldom discuss academic things" because teachers assume each other's subject matter competence.

> T: Teachers teach within their own framework, their own personality with respect to materials, theory, everything.

In effect, there is a prevailing pattern of collegial interaction here that encourages teachers to rely on one another for occasional assistance, but that does not encourage teachers to *advocate* specific ideas or practices or to engage in the collective examination and testing of instructional approaches. Collegiality here entails certain well-established rights to seek and to give advice, but does not extend to rights of persuasion and dissuasion; debate about the relative merits of substantive ideas appears rare. This places some rather strict constraints on the ability of any one teacher to influence others. One teacher, talking about individualization, says:

> T: . . . I haven't talked them into it in the school, but to me it's been very, very successful. It's not at all unusual for someone to do maybe fifteen or eighteen lessons in a nine-week period with it. And this is with no pressure.

The independence and autonomy that teachers here value have had certain practical consequences with respect to professional improvement. The assistance that teachers seek and get from one another is periodic and occasional, lacking the kind of regularity and continuity that might contribute more powerfully to the deliberate, conscious development of ideas. Even the feedback that teachers receive on their classroom teaching occurs primarily when things have gone wrong (thus limiting teachers' opportunities to understand and credit one another's accomplishments) and occurs too late to permit useful analysis and corrective action. For example, teachers may get their first evidence that their planning or instruction is flawed when a teacher in the next grade complains about certain skills or concepts that students in that grade have not mastered.

> I: Do you ever actually systematically meet with the fourth grade so they can say what they expect the kids to know?
>
> T: No. Uh, it's more of an informal kind of thing in the lounge, unless there's a real problem between two teachers.

In addition, preferences for independence and autonomy tend to throw teachers upon their own resources in developing ideas, preparing for their application in the classroom, judging their effects, and extending them to new areas of curriculum. The time and energy required for such work may discourage teachers from making the attempt. One teacher who has been using individual contracts selectively to foster greater performance by some students says:

> T: I'd like to use it more all the way through but I just have never worked it into math and these other subjects, I guess because I'm not structured enough.

Another teacher speculates that others have not explored the possibilities in individualization because "the initial setting up is difficult." Still another claims that her efforts to adopt one or two "objectives for improvement" each year have been fruitful, but that the day-to-day demands limit her ability to examine and judge her own progress on those objectives until the end of the school year.

Most teachers at Smallwood turn to one another as a matter of course for help in resolving problems or mastering new and unfamiliar assignments; it appears that they could extend their interactions by turning to each other to pursue curiosities and initiate or develop innovative ideas.

The value that teachers place on cohesiveness operates in still another way unintentionally to limit school improvement. Teachers stress mutual support and pride themselves on relations that proceed smoothly, without criticism. Questions about or suggestions for a teacher's performances are couched in "friendly" terms; one teacher says he has never heard a "caustic" criticism. While teachers do comment upon one another's practices, then, there is something of a fine line between professional responsibility or mutual support on the one hand and unwarranted intrusion or unnecessary complaint on the other. Teachers appear uncertain how to separate criticisms of or skepticism about specific classroom practices from interpretations about overall personal worth and professional competence. Even among a highly cohesive staff, criticism is a tricky business. The friendship relations that may make it more comfortable to ask advice may in turn make it more difficult to register criticism. The kind of systematic critique of performance that might contribute, over the long run, to school improvement, is likely to be difficult to initiate. One teacher observed that recurrent, complex, and widely shared problems or issues are discussed informally, usually among two or three teachers. They are rarely, if ever, taken up in the larger faculty meeting. The absence of a regular, periodic, and "public" forum for discussion of common problems limits the extent to which teachers are able to support one another and may eventually weaken ties among teachers. Other teachers note that there is a creeping tone of "negativism" in the talk of some teachers in the lounge, and worry that collegiality might be jeopardized if negative statements persist. Concern about the destructive effects of complaints may make teachers further reluctant to reveal problems and weaknesses, to air troublesome issues.

For a large number of teachers here, collegiality is firmly rooted in long-standing social relationships. Teachers declare that they are comfortable seeking advice from one another because they "are friends first." While these social roots have supported a close and influential network over the years, they have also revealed certain implications for long-term school improvement. One consequence of basing collegiality in social relationships is that the group may appear to be or may in fact be closed to outsiders or newcomers. As teachers transfer or retire and new members join, there is an increasing risk that the faculty will be polarized and that the resulting strain will jeopardize teachers' satisfaction and their performance in the classroom. Two of the school's twenty teachers presently count themselves as outsiders, excluded from the celebrated collegial network.[1] For these teachers, this exclusion means not only that they feel little social support" or sense of belonging, but also that they find no permission to seek professional interaction or assistance:

> T: Now, I really admire Gerald, and I think Grant is a good teacher [but] I couldn't go to either one of them to ask them. . . .

Curiously, newcomers who are new to the field of teaching appear to gain easier entry to this tight-knit faculty than do teachers who join the school after several years' experience in other schools. One first-year teacher says:

> T: This is my first year of opening, actually starting the first day in a building. And I was nervous and the faculty here was super. . . . Different ones came and gave me pointers on what to do the first day . . . and that helped. . . . And I still find that it's a very warm faculty. And I think that the attitude of the faculty will rub off on the kids.

The very cohesiveness of the faculty, together with teachers' professional self-confidence and their preferences for relying on each other for occasional assistance, may establish certain conditions for introducing promising new ideas. Teachers tend to think of each other first when in need of assistance, and to credit each other as experts in ways that they do not credit outsiders who are unfamiliar with the day-to-day circumstances of the school. Teachers looked forward to getting advice from peers about implementing the reading package, viewing the assistance of fellow teachers as more useful than assistance received in short-term inservices.

> T: We've got a couple of teachers here that have used enough [reading packages] like [this one] in their regular teaching so that this is not brand new, it's only the material that is new. . . . And they're the experts as far as the rest of us are concerned. You've got a question, you go to them.
>
> So next spring I'll have two or three [inservice] meetings to tell me how to use the package, and in the fall again. Then I'll go crying to all the other teachers, "Help!"

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[1] These teachers report that Smallwood is "a difficult place to enter" because "every nook and cranny is theirs." Still another teacher observed the difficulty experienced by a new principal in gaining acceptance.

Asked whether inservice on the reading package would be more useful if it were phased over time in order to match teachers' progress in implementation, the same teacher observed, "In essence, that's what we're doing when we talk to each other."

No doubt, Smallwood teachers' preference for independent, autonomous pursuit of professional opportunities, their cautious outlook on proposed innovation and their propensity for crediting the knowledge and experience of peers over that of outsiders may appear as "resistance" to district program designers. Viewed another way, however, teachers' pervasive concern for student learning, their commitment to well-informed and well-executed instruction, and their cohesive faculty relationships together constitute a powerful set of resources for school success. By these arguments, the greatest prospects for staff development to exert influence center on its demonstrated contribution to issues of student learning and on its ability to accommodate and build on the informal but powerful collegial network among teachers.

III. LEARNING ON THE JOB: TEACHERS' VIEWS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Formal district-sponsored staff development has played little role at Smallwood. Teachers characterize the faculty as "generally apathetic" toward inservice or district-sponsored formal programs. Nonetheless, teachers' commitment to professionalism has led many of them to pursue a range of opportunities independently--primarily through participation in university-sponsored courses or programs.

STEADY IMPROVEMENT

Teachers describe learning on the job as a matter of steady improvement, informed by classroom experimentation and by ideas selectively mined from outside reading and experience.

Independent trial and error, supplemented by reading and occasional discussion with others, is a major resource for improvement. Constructing advice for beginning teachers, one experienced teacher suggested, "they should have the feeling they can jump in, try new approaches and discard what doesn't work." Another experienced teacher advises teachers throughout their careers to "add one thing each year--take on one objective for improvement."[1] Describing the implementation of the new reading package, one teacher sheds some new light on the range of exploration and practice that come under the heading of "learning by experience":

> T: You try a lot of different things and you read a lot. You continuously go back and you read the manual and you *read* it over and over; you take it home with you and you *practice* on your own kids at home with it; you set up your own reading groups. And then you *talk to other teachers* that are in the building with it, and you *compare* and you get together like that. I think that's the only way you can get it is through experience.

Experience is the most highly prized resource for professional growth. "Experience is the best teacher," according to staff here. Asked to describe how they learned to teach, faculty members replied that they "get a speck of an idea," "turn it" and "twist it" and "make it work for me." Some displayed a systematic and analytic approach to classroom practice that leads them to seek a basis for their work in theory and to evaluate and refine their practice on a regular basis:

> T: Theory begins to give background knowledge based on research. A lot of the time, research is sadly lacking. They'll give the theory--ideas alone--with no specific cases. Theory gets my mind thinking. Then I try to figure out whether it will work. A good example is Renzuli. On paper, it's super. Then Renzuli himself began to reexamine. You run into some problems, like discovering process may be more important than the kind of final product that was originally stressed. Also, with younger students, Renzuli is not practical. They need more direction and help from the teacher than is anticipated by Renzuli. Finally, Renzuli is weak on group process work. Some of the best things in this class have come from the *group's* brainstorming about where the *group* wanted to go.

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[1] This same teacher observes that the ability of teachers to engage in steady, organized, and planned improvement of this sort depends heavily on the way the job itself is structured. She looks to the principal to acknowledge and support such an approach, noting particularly that the demands placed on first-year teachers are often too great to permit a conscious attention to learning and experimentation. Another teacher adds that there "is not enough time in the elementary schedule for analysis." By their accounts, "receptivity" to innovation and experimentation is not simply a matter of individual dedication, interest, and ability, but also a function of the way that the school is organized as a workplace.

Teachers' interest in student learning and their commitment to quality instruction prompts them to draw upon a wide range of experiences and resources outside the school. In selecting courses, they look for topics "in general areas where I need help." One teacher speculated:

> T: Uh, I'd be looking for probably two things: something in the reading area, again because that's my weakness, my big weakness; probably social studies would be another area that I would like to have more help--social studies areas.

Teachers here supplement coursework with professional meetings, membership in educational associations, and educational book clubs. One teacher says she "haunts libraries and book stores." Others find ways to enrich classroom experience by drawing on their outside involvements with church groups, scouting organizations, family experiences, courses taken "for fun," and even vacations:

> T: . . . I have taken my vacation in Taos every year. I've been lucky to have a place to stay. I don't have it this year, so I feel kind of lost, but I have gone to the museums, I have bought books on the Indian cultures, and on the first Spaniards that were here, so that I studied up on those things. . . .

The focus on improvement in classroom competence and confidence leads teachers to judge the relevance of university courses or other offerings in light of their prospects for practical action:

> T: I compare a how-to class with your basic education courses and your undergraduate, or your undergraduate college--they give you all the nice theories but rarely tell you how to translate those into class work.

Nonetheless, the attempt to achieve practicality by rendering specific "how-to" advice can easily go wrong. Teachers say, with some regret, that even good ideas are discounted when professors offer demonstrably "bad" advice for implementing them. In their enthusiasm for a new approach, teachers claim, professors or consultants suggest implementation that is too rapid, too comprehensive, and too rarely grounded in any recognition of the practical realities of teaching and classroom innovation. One teacher recalled a workshop in which the instructor suggested that individualized instruction be adapted for all areas of the curriculum, e.g., that teachers start students on cursive writing "as soon as they are ready." By the teacher's account, the implementation advice would have been more favorably received had it taken this sort of form: "You've got limited time for planning, organizing and developing materials, and keeping records (for individualization), so take the areas of the curriculum that are most important, like reading, language arts, and math and begin by individualizing them."

Teachers judge staff development not only by its demonstrable accommodation of teaching practicalities, but also by its relevance to immediate requirements and obligations on the job. A teacher at Smallwood who was charged with designing and initiating a program for the gifted and talented criticized a university course on that topic for being "irrelevant." It was irrelevant not because the course focus on values clarification was inappropriate, but because the course did not permit the teacher to meet her current obligation to get a program underway. While the university could not have been expected to "collaborate" with the teacher on a one-to-one basis, it might have addressed relevance in two ways: (1) by becoming sufficiently knowledgeable about the setting and sequence of innovation in schools to design courses that accord with practical demands while still stressing the role of theory and research, and (2) by preparing course descriptions and titles that are sufficiently precise to permit teachers to judge course relevance at specific stages of their own work.

LEARNING FROM AND WITH COLLEAGUES

While much of their professional improvement activity is conducted on an individual basis, outside of school, teachers also speak with some enthusiasm of those occasions on which they have worked collaboratively with other teachers. Faculty members speak favorably of outside consultants or formal staff development when their contributions have been focused specifically on matters of classroom *practice* and when they have been *collaborative* in form. One teacher looked back to her first year of teaching to describe an arrangement with a "helping teacher."

> T: I was very lucky in having what they called in those days a helping teacher--a real, a teacher who came from her own room, she wasn't a supervisor, she didn't sit in an office, she was working with kids. They would send a substitute to her room. . . . And she would come and help me. They would give me a day off to go and watch her. So uh, I didn't know, it had more credibility because she was working with children herself. . . . I think she had a total of two or three of us that she worked with. And she'd call us together for meetings and we would talk.

Asked whether she still considered such an arrangement fruitful, with her many years of experience, she replied, "I think we need it to get out of our rut, to see a new way of doing things." Nonetheless, she reports that most of the observational visits she has endured over the years have not incorporated the most favorable and helpful aspects of her work with a helping teacher.

322

Feedback has been slow in coming when it has been offered at all; most visits, she claims, have been "come and look and go." In twenty years of teaching, she estimates, five observations have been the occasion for discussion and analysis of actual classroom practice.

Her view is confirmed by others in the building who report that they have gained from collaborative associations with fellow teachers inside and outside the building, but that such occasions are relatively infrequent. For example, teachers look to conferences or district-wide meetings as an opportunity for "informal association" with others in similar circumstances. As one teacher describes a district progress meeting on the reading package:

> T: We shared where we were in the [reading] program. Some people had some problems. We had four people from downtown and somebody from the publisher, so that we could ask questions: "I'm having trouble with this, what do I do?" But mostly they showed us new things to do.

Such occasions are valued when they concentrate on issues of practice, treating them analytically and leading to recommendations for action; they are a disappointment to teachers when they stress competition rather than cooperation, or when they take the form of collaboration without substantive focus or guidance. Describing one recent meeting on the new reading program, a teacher complained that the very seating arrangement served to emphasize the distance between classroom teachers and district personnel and to diminish the prospects for collegial discussion of persistent issues.

> T: We were lined up physically, half and half: they were on that side and we teachers were on this side.

Along similar lines, the potential value of such gatherings is diminished when they permit "bragging" about relative degrees of progress, with little attention to analyzing either the immediate classroom tactics or the wider set of circumstances that could account for differences in progress. Finally, teachers criticize inservice meetings or classes that take the *form* of a collaboration (e.g., small group work) but for which persons are inadequately informed or guided. One teacher reports that he "avoids like the plague" any university classes that have the reputation of relying heavily on small group work; in the past, he has found the groups to be a poor substitute for informed instruction. There is a parallel criticism of the small group sessions employed as part of human relations inservices:

> T: And the worst of them were where we got together in groups and tried to work out problems that we had no answers for. Maybe that's where I got so soured on it.

A PATTERN OF SELECTIVE INNOVATION

Teachers at Smallwood report selective adoption (and adaptation) of new practices and materials as a consequence of their involvement in classes, workshops, and inservice meetings. One teacher describes a program for individualized and self-paced instruction in spelling and the occasional use of individual contracts in several subjects. Another teacher reports that his dissatisfaction with his own disciplinary practices led him to a course on values clarification that he is attempting to translate into classroom practice. Still another teacher describes an entire approach to learning, applying, adapting, and refining educational theory in the classroom:

> T: I like to start with theory, bearing in mind that it may not work. Revise and revamp. That's what I've done with Renzuli. Theory begins to give a background, knowledge based on research. . . . So I sat down with the Renzuli materials and figured out what I had to do. For example, I had to do group dynamics. Kids don't know how to function in groups because they never get the opportunity.

Teachers' pattern of involvement in university offerings and their pattern of experimentation with new practices or materials are consistent with the expectations for independence and autonomy that characterize work relations generally at Smallwood. Selective, relatively cautious, small-scale and incremental innovation is the rule. Decisions about the merits of an idea or program and decisions about the nature and extent of classroom innovations are largely the province of the individual teacher. "We don't expect to have ideas put on us," according to one faculty member.

On the grounds that their established practices have brought results, teachers are skeptical about new curricula and new methods of classroom instruction, insisting upon some persuasive evidence of effectiveness before considering classroom adoption:

> T: There are lots of inservices and courses and stuff that they can take if they're really interested [but] there is still a feeling that individualization will not work.

This conservative outlook was built and consolidated over a period of years by the stance of the previous principal, who celebrated the autonomy of individual teachers and the building in the face of district efforts to encourage collective commitments to organized programs. A conservative history suggests that approaches that stress the cumulative *refinement* of existing practice will stimulate more interest than those that stress innovation or the displacement of current practice.[1] Recognizing the increasing pressures for change and recognizing, too, teachers' investment in an established body of practice, the principal describes his own strategy as one of cultivating a climate conducive to teacher-initiated experimentation. "I try to sell teachers on designing their own programs rather than just adopting a model." Presumably, staff development programs that follow a parallel course also have some prospect for influence here.[2]

STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND THE MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE

In recent years, staff development has served as the vehicle by which teachers acquaint themselves with the broad requirements of districtwide change, and by which they equip themselves to manage its early stages. Looking back to the introduction of a new math curriculum, one teacher recalled:

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[1] The current principal's habit of moving regularly in and out of classrooms may, over time, enable him to cultivate a sense and a language of cumulative refinement. That is, as the principal gains a greater command over the nature of existing practice in the school and in specific classrooms, he may be able to offer increasingly thoughtful observations about the potential contributions of various new ideas, practices, or materials. Teachers may be placed under less strain by talk about "trying something new" when it is evident that the principal's knowledge of and enthusiasm for the "new" idea is matched by knowledge of and enthusiasm for the strengths of prevailing practice. In some respects, this may require a modest change in the current practice of classroom visits. The principal presently conveys his interest, commitment, and concern by moving through the classrooms frequently (i.e., "being visible"). It may require a greater number of actual *observations* to build a detailed understanding of existing practice.

[2] Progress is likely to be slow in coming and difficult to measure in its early stages. For example, in attempting to initiate a program of affective education at Smallwood, the principal has arranged for district staff to work in the building in a collaborative fashion with a committee of teachers. The role of the staff development consultant is intended to be "advisory," placing considerable reliance on the committee to explore a range of options, to design a program, and outline a sequence of implementation. It is unclear at this stage what effect this in-building collaborative work is having; in interviews, only two of twenty teachers even mentioned the program. In the one session in which teachers and district personnel were observed at work together (in a combination faculty meeting-inservice), teachers' questions and comments suggested that they viewed the district advisor as a spokesperson for the district with respect to "imposed" change. At this stage, teachers are neither celebrating this project as an instance of favorable staff development, nor denigrating it as an instance of flawed staff development.

> T: When they introduced modern math to the district, a bunch of us from this school had to go over [for inservice] and although I had many classes in mathematics, inservice on metrics helped a great deal with materials that were available and skills I would need.

Another teacher, describing the gradual introduction of the new reading package, considers participation in district inservices part of the preparation for the new approach:

> T: And each grade level is having a series of two or three spring inservices and a fall inservice prior to the time they start. Beyond that, I don't know. Now mine will be next year. I've got one more year under my system.

Teachers thus look to district-sponsored inservices for a broad orientation to planned innovations; nonetheless, they distinguish the contributions they can reasonably expect from occasional and time-limited district programs from the assistance they expect from fellow teachers in the building.

> T: For the inservice, I look to find out what the district expects, some overall picture of the program. But specifics, I think I'll get more here than I will there. For one thing, they can give me all the specifics they want there, but by the time I get back to school I've forgotten most of what they said, notes or otherwise. You know, when they give you a lot of things--'You do this first, you do that next, you do that next'--until you work with it, it doesn't stick. And that's what helps me here because I'll start out and then I'll say, 'I did this but where do I go next?' Someone will tell me and then I'll remember.

One teacher reported, "I'm still feeling my way" five months after beginning the new reading program, despite the efforts of an inservice program to display a step-by-step approach to organizing and conducting lessons; she and others have relied heavily on informal exchanges among teachers to guide a sequence of implementation.

The relevance of staff development to the management of change has been somewhat problematic in several ways.

First, teachers are ambivalent about the ability of outside staff development to offer more than modest preparation for district-imposed changes that inescapably affect the worklives of teachers. The more explicit the nature and extent of the proposed change, the more favorable teachers appear toward outside inservices and the more clearly they can delineate the contributions made by those inservices. Thus, teachers conveyed some interest in and support for inservices that introduced teachers to new curriculum packages or to instructional techniques in narrowly defined areas. The more complex, ambiguous, and diffuse the proposed change, the less certain were the contributions and the more ambivalent the responses of teachers:

> T: You know, we have this court-ordered type thing and the first two or three years was based almost all on that: What does the uh Mexican heritage, or what does their culture that these kids would come from make them different than us? How should we adjust to it?
>
> I: How were those inservices viewed by the faculty?
>
> T: Some of them fairly good, some of them as: 'We got our five hours in this semester' type thing.

On the whole, Smallwood teachers consider staff development a resource that is, at its best, supplemental to the more extensive and pervasive resources of the building itself. In part, the supplemental character of inservice has derived from its organization. In preparing teachers for curriculum change, the district has reportedly conducted inservices prior to implementation, but not on any large scale *during* the course of implementation. In so doing, the district has compromised its (acknowledged) attempts to address practical issues of implementation. Second, the inservices have typically taken place outside the building, engaging a few teachers at a time, and thus missing an opportunity to build directly on the collegial network.

Where change occurs on a modest scale, around relatively well-structured areas of curriculum (e.g., the reading package), the limitations of inservice organized in this fashion may prove inconsequential; teachers here are accustomed to taking up the slack through shared work inside the building. Where change occurs on a broader scale and where successful "implementation" is less clear (e.g., integration), teachers appear somewhat less certain of their ability to assist one another.

On the other hand, teachers are equally ambivalent about training they are required to receive for circumstances they do not believe they will encounter. For example, the district has had a recent influx of non-English-speaking Asian students. In an effort to prepare teachers for this situation, the district has organized regularly scheduled districtwide inservices for which they ask schools to assign a team of two teachers. Yet Smallwood has remained relatively untouched by this new situation. When no one displayed any interest in participating, the principal "volunteered" two members of the faculty. One of them said later, after returning from one of the sessions, "I probably don't pay as much attention as I should because it's just not a problem here."

The ability of staff development to foster or assist with change in individual buildings is both supported by and limited by district priorities. From teachers' point of view, proposals for change do not always translate as "help." Teachers recognize that staff development may be a ready source of materials, release time, and free consulting. But teachers are uncertain how to view staff developers in light of the prospect that any proposed change constitutes still one more way to make teachers "accountable" for their classroom performance. As representatives of the district, staff developers appear to be in the position of explaining or defending district interests at the same time that they are exploring the merits of a set of ideas. The competing demands on teachers (to balance requirements for accountability against interests in professional growth) and on staff developers (to balance their obligations to the district against their understanding of the complexities of day-to-day teaching) appear to limit some of the prospects for staff development to promote school improvement. In one observed instance, teachers framed many of their questions to a district staff development consultant on affective education in the language of accountability, requirements, impositions; their questions stressed the distance between "we" and "you/they."

IV. SUMMARY

Characterizations of Smallwood as a workplace, descriptions of past and present "learning on the job," and specific commentary on instances of staff development all offer insight into the ways in which teachers and principals can be assisted (and can assist one another) to build and sustain a successful school.

Teachers and principal alike describe Smallwood as a school "conducive" to success on three grounds.

(1) There is a pervasive concern with, interest in, and curiosity about student learning. Teachers raise issues of learning and teaching in ordinary workplace conversations. They speak enthusiastically and in some detail about classes they have taken, books they have read, inservices they have attended, advice they have received, and experiences they have had that have informed their understanding and their practice. There is a prevailing belief that sustained assessment and refinement of classroom practice are desirable, and an equally powerful belief in the capacity of teachers here to manage such work.

(2) There are well-established and celebrated habits for collaborative problem solving and for mutual assistance in the face of change. Teachers typically see each other as knowledgeable,

experienced, and skilled. Even while their collegiality is not as fully exploited as it might be, it nonetheless serves as the basis for much of the "learning on the job" that takes place here. Teachers view their "closeness" as a powerful resource for school improvement and are inclined to see themselves and their fellow teachers as "experts."

(3) Teachers report that each of the building's three principals has been supportive of teachers in one fashion or another. The current principal is visibly, explicitly, and aggressively encouraging teachers to build on their interest in student learning and to test out innovative approaches. While the focus on innovation may generate some strain here, the interests of principal and teachers are consonant, and are consistent with long-range aims of school success.

As a workplace, then, Smallwood is marked by shared expectations for independent competence and commitment, tempered by expectations for mutual assistance and selective recourse to the knowledge, experience, and skill of others. Teachers' involvement in and preferences for staff development reflect these expectations.

Formal participation in staff development has been periodic, short-term, and prompted by some interest or need arising out of classroom experience. Teachers here pursue an individual course of professional improvement, visible to others largely through the "word of mouth" characterization of specific courses, workshops, books, or other resources. On occasion, obligations for implementing district-imposed change has led to collective participation in inservice programs, followed by more extensive and enduring work among teachers and by individually designed efforts at "implementation."

On the whole, staff development has served to supplement teachers' own interests and experiments. The prospects that it will develop a more assured and welcome role here and that it will contribute in some credited, definitive way to the school's success appear to ride on two factors.

First, staff developers will be most credible where they strike a collaborative stance, characterizing "staff development" as shared efforts among fellow professionals. Tactically, this would seem to require that the focus of the work be negotiated jointly among teachers, principal, and staff developers; that it be organized specifically to draw upon the knowledge and experience of all parties; and that it take place largely in the school during the course of the work week. In effect, such an approach observably takes account of teachers' existing views of one another (as "experts" in their own right") and observably builds on and contributes to a pattern of collegial work.

Second, staff development will attract teachers here by a well-informed attention to issues of student learning and by persistent and collaborative efforts to apply good ideas to realistic classroom practice. For teachers, these are issues of "relevance" and "practicality," and they are issues inextricably bound up with one another. By teachers' accounts, a presentation that is specific and "practical" but irrelevant to the circumstances teachers face is of little utility and is quickly forgotten. Similarly, teachers are dissuaded from participation in staff development when it touches upon precisely those obligations that teachers face (i.e., is "relevant"), but which offers little specificity or occurs too infrequently to address emerging practical issues. Tactically, these observations appear to argue for work focused on specific ideas, conducted over a long enough period of time to support cumulative and reciprocal understanding and experience.

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SCHOOL SUCCESS AND STAFF DEVELOPMENT: THE ROLE OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

APPENDIX B:

A DESCRIPTION OF METHODS

Judith Warren Little

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Center for Action Research, Inc.
1125 Spruce Street
Boulder, Colorado

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. A COLLABORATIVE APPROACH 1

- A. THE PROGRESS REVIEW GROUP 3
  - 1. Functions of the Review Group 3
  - 2. Composition of the Progress Review Group 3
  - 3. Accomplishments of the Progress Review Group 5
- B. WORK SESSIONS WITH DISTRICT PERSONNEL 6
- C. NEGOTIATING THE PARTICIPATION OF SCHOOLS 7
- D. INTERACTIONS WITH TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS 9

III. FOCUSED ETHNOGRAPHY 12

- A. GUIDANCE FROM THE LITERATURE 13
- B. INQUIRY MATRIX AND DISCUSSION GUIDE 16
- C. METHODS FOR PRESERVING FOCUS 17
- D. SITE SELECTION 18
- E. DATA COLLECTION 22
- F. DATA ANALYSIS 26
  - 1. Organizing the Data 26
  - 2. Descriptions 28
  - 3. Comparisons and Contrasts: Formulating Propositions 29
- G. METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS 29
  - 1. Limitations of the Sample 29
  - 2. Selection of Critical Work Settings 29
  - 3. Specificity of the Data 30

TABLES

TABLE 1: SUMMARY CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS 23

TABLE 2: DATA COLLECTION 24

ATTACHMENTS

Attachment A: Discussion Guide 35

Attachment B: An Inquiry Matrix for Organizing Descriptions of Staff Development In Urban Schools 49

Attachment C: A Letter of Invitation To Schools 55

Attachment D: Assistant Superintendent's Memo 61

I. INTRODUCTION

This has been an inquiry into the nature and extent of staff development influence in urban desegregated schools. We expected that there would be substantial methodological difficulties in sorting out the effects of staff development activities from other sorts of effects in schools' efforts to improve educational practice and to insure educational equity. In addition, the present state of theory and empirical research offered little persuasive ground for the identification of critical variables for formulating testable hypotheses. On these grounds, we proposed inquiry that was fundamentally ethnographic and which was aimed at: (1) the production of sufficiently detailed descriptive accounts to serve as the basis for theoretical speculation and practical reform, (2) formulation of characteristic dimensions of school setting and staff development that constitute a framework within which guiding questions may be placed and within which subsequent findings may be interpreted, and (3) the elaboration and refinement of a matrix of central questions to guide subsequent research and practice. In sum, this has been a venture in theory development with intended practical and policy implications. It has been organized around four methodological elements:

> *A collaborative or "partnership" stance* with a district staff development program and with six participating schools.
>
> A research strategy of *focused ethnography*.
>
> The use of several *simultaneous and complementary methods* of data collection, including semistructured and taped interviews, semistructured field note interviews, informal conversations, classroom observations, observations in other work situations (meetings, duties, lounge, etc.), and a journal that permits us to keep separate our interpretations and hunches from our descriptions.
>
> Documentation of method in a fashion that provides a *transparent path* from research design through the collection and transformation of data to inferences and conclusions.

II. A COLLABORATIVE APPROACH

Throughout the course of this work, Center for Action Research staff have cultivated a set of collaborative arrangements with district personnel, with participating schools, and with others to whom this inquiry appeared relevant and from whom we could expect to draw insight and advice. Drawing upon our own experience in partnership ventures with schools, and upon a small body of supporting literature,[1] we argued that collaboration had several virtues.

First, it offered some assurance that the connection between theory and practice would be accommodated at every stage of the work, and not attempted only as an afterthought upon presentation of findings. In this respect, collaboration achieves the intersection of two aims: the advance of knowledge and the improvement of practice.

Second, collaboration insures that the interests, questions, and curiosities that emerge from local experience are represented in the research design, along with the interests, questions, and curiosities that have been drawn from the theoretical and empirical literature.

Third, collaboration offers an opportunity for a reciprocal working relationship between researchers and practitioners in which both gain the opportunity for reflection and for unexpected insight into situational realities.

Thus, while we sought to minimize our intrusion into the time and resources of the district and to disrupt as little as possible the daily business of education in schools, we argued that both the practical utility and the overall quality of the research would be enhanced if Center staff could sustain collaborative work with school personnel.

In practice, collaboration took four forms: the progress review group, work sessions with district personnel, negotiating the participation of schools, and interactions with teachers and administrators.

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[1] An example of collaborative (or "interactive") research is described by Tikunoff, Ward, and Griffin (1979). In that work, researchers and teachers together negotiate and develop the research topic, specific research objectives or questions, and research design. They conduct the research and analyze and interpret findings. This experiment in collaboration was deliberately designed to build teachers' capabilities in research and their commitment to research as part of "being a teacher." In that respect, this line of work is an extension of Hymes's (1967) proposal that teachers be treated as partners in school-based ethnography and that they be trained in the conduct of ethnographic methods as one route to school improvement. To the extent that these approaches require some redefinition of teachers' roles to include research practices, they can be traced to the campaign in the early and mid-1950s to engage teachers in "action research" (Corey, 1953).

A. THE PROGRESS REVIEW GROUP

In early stages of the work, we recruited a progress review group, composed of experienced persons from the district's central administration, local schools, the state department of education, and a university school of education faculty. This group worked with project staff early in the design stages and met periodically throughout the study to offer observations and advice on matters of substance, procedure, interpretation, and presentation of findings--in short, to help insure that the intended connections between research and practice were sustained. The existence of this group did not preclude separate work sessions with district personnel as particular stages of work were reached or particular issues arose, but it did offer the opportunity for members of the administration and others to follow the course of the study throughout and to influence its design and conduct.

1. Functions of the Review Group

The review group was expected to serve the following principal purposes:

> To introduce perspectives, interests, and experiences characteristic of a variety of organizational roles (local schools, district administration, university, SEA) and thus to improve the prospects for a close tie between research and practice. By applying the perspectives relevant to those several organizational levels and roles, these persons added depth and detail to the formulation of initial guiding questions and to the analysis and interpretation of data.
>
> To supplement the relatively narrow range of experience and perspectives offered by project staff. While project staff had experience in consulting relationships with local schools and school districts, this experience did not bring the detailed knowledge of organizational policies and practice afforded by the review group.

2. Composition of the Progress Review Group

To achieve the stated purposes, Center staff selectively recruited review group members representing experience in a broad range of educational circumstances and positions.

a. District administration. The review group was originally constructed to include four members of the district's central administration, three of whom participated actively throughout the year's work. The district's coordinator of the Department of Staff Development was a principal partner in this effort: in her capacity as a member of the review group, she offered advice grounded in the actual experience of designing and implementing staff development in district schools, and voiced those emerging curiosities as issues and problems that made the district an interested partner in the research. The director of the Department of Human Relations and Student Advisory Services, also a regular participant, is responsible for overseeing the implementation of the court desegregation order, a charge that carries responsibility for some staff development activity. A specialist with the Instructional Resource Center of the Department of Special Education contributed insights drawn from extensive staff development work with teachers of special education programs. The Director of Research and Evaluation displayed interest in the work and in participation in the group, but in fact attended none of the four work sessions. We had expected that his position and experience would equip him to offer valuable advice on establishing connections between research interests and improved educational practice.

b. School practitioners. To gain the perspective and experience of practicing school personnel throughout the research project, we recruited three school principals (elementary, junior high, and senior high) and three teachers (elementary, junior high, and senior high) to participate on the review group. Subsequently, the principals of each participating school were added to the group.

c. University school of education faculty. On the grounds that the nature of preservice training contributes to current perceptions of staff development needs and on the grounds that the findings of this research may have implications for preservice teacher training, we recruited one member of a university school of education faculty to participate on the review group. At the time this work was conducted, that person was also serving as the coordinator of a statewide staff development group under the auspices of the regional accreditation association. His university status and his familiarity with staff development issues combined to make him a valued member of the group.

d. State Department of Education (SEA). The School Improvement and Leadership Unit of the state department of education had in recent years cultivated a technical assistance and dissemination role with local school districts. Participation in the review group offered the opportunity to receive advice which reflected this role and the SEA's familiarity with a broad range of circumstances.

3. Accomplishments of the Progress Review Group

The review group met four times. In the first gathering, our challenge was to strike a tone that would encourage active participation by all of the diverse members. We began by summarizing some of the history behind the project and outlining the curiosities that were shared by NIE, the Center for Action Research, and the district. In describing the central interests of the study, we were careful to anticipate and try to illustrate some of the practical applications this work might generate at each of the levels represented in the room. We emphasized that the members had knowledge and skill that we did not, and that their experience was a needed complement to our own. Second, we distributed materials summarizing the project in writing and illustrating the approach we proposed to take in negotiating access to schools and conducting interviews or observations in schools. These materials provided something concrete to which persons could respond, in contrast to a general "brainstorming" approach. (We found that tactic particularly valuable, in that it apparently led to the judgment that we were "organized" and presumably less likely to waste their time.) We asked specifically for advice on four topics: nominations for readings to be included in our literature review, procedures for negotiating access to schools, strategies for getting the depth and candor we were seeking in interviews with teachers, and the appropriateness of the draft discussion guide. Convinced that their advice was genuinely sought on questions to which we did not already have answers, the group members plunged into the work and offered extensive advice on all four topics. The group's suggestions led us to rewrite our invitational prospectus so that it focused less on our interests and credentials and more on responses to the questions teachers were most likely to raise. Group suggestions about establishing working partnerships with teachers and administrators led us to schedule our time in schools in continuous blocks, so that we became a familiar part of the school, and to spend time in informal settings, engaged in informal conversations, as a way of setting a "comfortable tone." We also, at their suggestion, rehearsed a variety of explanations of what practical benefit the study might be to schools or individual teachers. And, finally, we incorporated the group's suggestions about topic, language, tone, and sequence in completing the draft of the discussion guide (attachment A).

In subsequent meetings, the group convened to hear reports on our experiences in gaining access to schools, progress in data collection in the six schools, and emerging analyses and interpretations. We drew on our expanding analyses of transcripts and field notes first to present some "hunches, without the status of findings," and later to detail a set of summary findings and propositions. In each meeting, we attempted in concert with the group members to illustrate the kinds of practical applications that might be anticipated, and the subsequent inquiry that would offer further guidance. These sessions, unlike the first, were structured principally as occasions for reporting progress, problems, and curiosities, and less as occasions for soliciting specific advice. Nonetheless, we still encountered interested questions and observations that led us to expand some analyses and reconsider others.

B. WORK SESSIONS WITH DISTRICT PERSONNEL

Throughout the year's work, but particularly in its early stages, Center staff engaged in frequent contact with district personnel to incorporate local concerns and interests into an inquiry based more broadly in current theory and research. Interactions took five forms:

Drafting and refining the research objectives. In the proposal preparation stage, extensive conversation with the district's coordinator of staff development helped to shape the original research objectives and guide questions along lines that reflected local interests.

Assistance in site selection. The study called for a brief ethnographic study of each of six schools, three elementary and three secondary. We relied on the district for standardized data that would enable us to rate school success in several areas (achievement, completion/dropout, attendance, and so forth). Nonetheless, we also recognized that standardized data available in September were almost a year out of date and that not all of the judgments that might be made about a school's relative success would be captured adequately in such measures. Thus, we engaged in working sessions with the coordinator and staff of the department of staff development, and eventually with the assistant superintendents of elementary and secondary education, as central parts of the selection process. In these sessions, we sought information on candidate schools that was unrevealed by the summary measures already at our disposal.

Refinement of the inquiry matrix. Following discussions with the coordinator of staff development, the original guiding questions included in the proposal were reshaped into a comprehensive inquiry matrix that provided a context for the present research and for subsequent inquiry that might be undertaken by the district (attachment B).

Interviews with staff development personnel. Members of the district's staff development team added to our understanding of district-sponsored programs by participating in individual half-hour interviews during the first six weeks of the project. To round out our view of the district's inservice activities, we also conducted interviews with the director of the Department of Human Relations (responsible for court-ordered inservice), with the coordinator of the district's mastery learning program (responsible for inservice support to mastery learning pilot schools), and with one of the curriculum supervisors.

C. NEGOTIATING THE PARTICIPATION OF SCHOOLS

The Center's experiences in the course of negotiating access have led to certain observations about striking up partnerships with schools that may prove useful both to researchers and to persons enacting a staff development or technical assistance role with schools.

First, we found that stressing the image of a partnership with schools generated interest on the part of both principals and teachers; the more we were able to demonstrate our commitment to a partnership in our language and our behavior, the more enthusiasm we met. Thus, in gaining the original agreement to participate, we made explicit our intent to act in a collaborative fashion. We supplied a twenty-page summary of the project, sufficiently detailed on matters of concept and method that principals and teachers could judge the extent to which our aims were consistent with school interests. We distributed a letter of invitation to teachers (attachment C) to underscore the voluntary nature of their participation and to encourage them to see themselves as partners in rather than subjects of the research. We made available copies of the draft discussion guide so that teachers or principals could organize thoughtful responses or pose additional lines of questioning. And we offered written assurances of anonymity and confidentiality to put persons at ease and encourage their candor.

Second, acceptances were more readily managed where the principal took and displayed an active interest in the work and helped to pave the way for agreements with teachers. (The one exception to this was in a school in which teacher/principal relations were strained and where the teachers complained to us that the principal always "volunteers them for everything." This school was *not* one of the final six.)

In one elementary school, the principal squired the study director around the building, making introductions to all the teachers and stressing that we were interested in "success." He followed up with a discussion in faculty meeting and a notice in the weekly bulletin. By the time we came back for our first full day of interviews and observations, everyone knew why we were there and all but one teacher demonstrated willingness to talk to us.

In all three secondary schools and in one of the elementary schools, we gained tentative agreements with the building principal that were confirmed following the principal's informal conversations with teachers. In one junior high, for example, the principal met privately with teachers to encourage their participation, conveying to them that the study was intended to credit teachers' experience and to use teachers' views as a basis for advice on staff development and teacher education. When we met subsequently with those teachers, they appeared relaxed and interested, volunteering to suggest topics we should pursue and observations we should make. After we were introduced to the entire faculty at a faculty meeting, again with a stress on our interest in school success and teachers' views, we were approached by more teachers with questions, observations, and comments, invitations to observe classes, and even invitations to join social gatherings.[1]

The only "entry" approach which was not satisfactory (even though it did gain us an agreement to participate) was a single short presentation to an entire faculty at a faculty meeting, with an immediate vote for acceptance or rejection. Judging by the facial expressions we observed, we were fortunate that the first person to speak out following our presentation made a comment favorable to the project, apparently setting a tone for the vote that followed. In effect, we gained an apathetic or even grudging acceptance, and found when we began our interviews and observations that teachers did not remember why we were there, who we were, whether they had voted on participating, or anything else connected with our request for intrusions on their time and classrooms. Although our relations with this faculty eased considerably over the three or four weeks that we were around, they have never been characterized by the interest or enthusiasm we encountered in other schools.

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[1] The more successful our attempts to generate a collaboration, the more we were reminded of the dilemma in moving "from stranger to friend" described by Robert B. Everhart (1977) in his account of field work in schools. As researchers became more closely allied to teachers and administrators in each school, they risked adopting their perspectives and habits and relinquishing the theoretical perspectives and the habits of close scrutiny they brought to their work. At its most successful (and, it appears, mutually rewarding), collaboration enabled teachers and principals themselves to be safely curious about the most tangled of issues and permitted researchers to ask plainly the most sensitive of questions. Apparently, our initial agreements about the topics and guiding questions of the work opened and preserved a certain territory for mutual exploration, while our demeanor in schools convinced teachers and administrators that we were indeed interested in understanding, not judging, their views and experiences.

Certainly, the experience that researchers have in this regard is comparable to that of teachers or staff development consultants whose immersion in the daily work of schools and whose friendship with fellow workers makes the frank and impartial review of practice difficult to sustain and makes habits of mutual criticism hard to form.

And third, we found that the very nature of the inquiry struck a responsive chord among building principals. Regardless of the role of formal staff development programs in their schools, principals were concerned with issues of school improvement and adaptibility to change. Similarly, by grounding our curiosities broadly in issues of "learning on the job," we sparked the interest of most teachers, including those whose involvements with formal staff development had been limited.

Because the focus of the research was well established before negotiations were begun with individual schools, our efforts to engage in collaboration required that we find schools who could find something of merit and utility in the proposed line of work. In that sense, the latitude to negotiate shared aims for research and practice with buildings was relatively limited--certainly far more limited than the latitude created in early stages of proposal preparation and research design when extensive discussions were held with district personnel responsible for staff development programs. One of the six principals, who had been an enthusiastic participant in the study, judged later that its utility would have been greater had the participating schools been able to join in formulating the research objectives.

D. INTERACTIONS WITH TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

In striking agreements for schools' and individuals' participation in the study, Center staff emphasized the image of a partnership. In subsequent encounters, we worked to confirm our promise to credit persons' knowledge, skill, and experience[1] by:

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[1] Confirming a collaboration is a somewhat different matter from simply putting persons at their ease. To confirm the collaborative stance required that we create situations in which teachers or administrators could take initiative in ways that bore on the substance of the inquiry. To put teachers at ease required that we prove responsive to their preferences with respect to conduct in the classroom (location, movement, talk with students, etc.) and scheduling of observations and interviews, and that we offer adequate evidence that their participation would not place them in jeopardy or cause them undue embarrassment.

(1) Asking them to guide our observations in classrooms, hallways, lunchrooms, playgrounds, and meetings by telling us what they considered central features of interaction in those situations. Teachers who were attracted by the image of a partnership nonetheless were uncertain what that might amount to in practice, and frequently asked prior to a classroom observation, "What are you looking for?" Our response typically was, "Tell us what you think we should notice about your approach." By proceeding in this fashion, we did not cease to take into account those features of classroom interaction that the literature suggests may be critical to questions of achievement, equity, and order. We did insure, however, that we took into account at least, and in all instances, teachers' own views of school situations and classroom practice.

(2) Encouraging teachers and administrators to contribute topics and specific questions in the course of interview. Near the close of each interview (but with sufficient time to pursue more issues or with latitude to schedule another session), we asked, "Are there other questions that I should have asked you that I have not?" In some instances, persons contributed entirely new topics (e.g., the nature or extent of staff development for administrators), while in others they took that occasion to restate those points they considered most salient in the preceding discussion.

(3) By returning all transcripts to persons following their interviews, to encourage further reflection and to confirm our intent to capture as faithfully as possible the views that teachers and administrators held about their work in schools and their involvements with staff development.

(4) By promising to return copies of case study reports and summary analyses to participating schools for review and commentary.

(5) By demonstrating willingness to pursue with teachers and administrators their curiosities about matters of theory and research. Several teachers displayed some curiosity about using ethnographic sociolinguistic methods to examine their own classroom practice. An assistant principal suggested that we as observers, and he as a member of the staff, attempt separate sociograms of faculty influence patterns; our mutual interest lay in how quickly an outside "resource person" could tap the prevailing patterns of influence in a building. Yet another principal posed several questions about the way in which principals' performance might be evaluated, asking for leads on instrumentation. Where possible, we tried to sketch methods that could be managed within the school with paper, pencil, two teachers and some careful thought. We lent books and materials and supplied bibliography references. In sum, we treated the work in schools as an occasion

for supporting and expanding the research interests and research capabilities of the participating schools. At least one principal observed that the collaboration would have been greatly strengthened had that aspect of the work been expanded. He would have preferred a schedule and a set of arrangements that permitted us to train school staff in our methods as we applied them, so that the school could pursue comparable research on its own in the future, with less dependence on a consultant. Though we worked at every opportunity to make our method visible and unmysterious to teachers and administrators, we had neither the time nor resources to teach it. In that regard, we gained partners who were willing and interested, but no more knowledgeable by virtue of the time they invested. Judging by the response from the principals and many of the teachers, the prospects are substantial for a collaboration that extends reciprocity to matters of research design, implementation, interpretation, and application.

Over a period of several weeks in each school, we obtained evidence that our collaborative approach was successful. Persons acted increasingly like partners. Teachers and administrators approached us to suggest questions we should ask, circumstances we should take into account, people we should talk to and situations we should observe. They followed up on interviews: "Remember when you asked me about. . . . Well, I've been thinking. . . ." They found that in the course of interviews they revealed to themselves aspects of practice that they had not consciously formulated before. For example, one teacher learned that her way of describing math instruction and math assignments (e.g., "Do your math facts") was confusing to us and inferred that it might be equally confusing to the parents she had unsuccessfully urged to assist their children with schoolwork.

> T: Maybe that is why the parents have trouble when I say, "Have your child study math facts." That may be it.

Talk during interviews also served to remind teachers of methods or materials they had found useful in the past but had somehow abandoned ("Hey! I'd forgotten about that.") Most teachers and administrators looked forward to receiving transcripts back for review; some pushed us for quick return, saying "I've got some stuff to add."[1]

On the evidence, it appears that the contribution that research makes to school improvement is increased to the degree that schools are full partners in the inquiry. In working collaboratively with schools, however, we faced certain inevitable trade-offs between expanded influence on the one hand and time and resources on the other. Collaboration extends the time required to design and complete intended work, and adds a certain diffuseness at some stages by seeking to account for diverse interests and requirements. Still, it permits greater depth and specificity ("phenomenological validity" in Deutscher's (1973) terms) and offers greater promise of enduring effect. We expect that the competing demands that we faced are not dissimilar to those faced by staff development teams.

III. FOCUSED ETHNOGRAPHY

This study has employed a focused ethnography, designed and organized to draw upon a combination of theoretical, empirical, and experiential sources to formulate guiding questions and to conduct interviews and observations. The term "focused ethnography" distinguishes this approach from one of general immersion in a presumably new and unfamiliar culture, requiring the stance of ignorance (the "naive stranger"). By contrast, our stance assumed that we had incomplete knowledge calling for "consciously directed inquiry" (Erickson, 1977, pp. 62). In this instance, prior theoretical and empirical work guided our selection of situations and led us to anticipate certain dimensions of meaning, but required us to generate in the course of our work the situational specificity, concreteness, and richness that would support more precise theoretical formulations.

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[1] Without exception, teachers and administrators were unpracticed in reading and reviewing verbatim transcripts. Faced simply with transcript, they tended to become distracted by the written presentation of their spoken English ("I never knew I said 'you know' that much, y'know"). Consequently, the review procedure was most productive where we combined general guidelines for review ("ignore the way you talked and concentrate on the main points you want us to catch") with a reminder of the central aims of the study and some specific questions based on our own reading of the transcript.

A. GUIDANCE FROM THE LITERATURE

First, an emerging case study literature on urban and desegregated schools exposed several dimensions of classroom practice and teacher student interaction that appear to bear on matters of achievement, equity, and intergroup relations. These are practices and interactions to which staff development is presumably addressed. Drawing on current literature, then, we permitted our interviews and observations to be focused by previous findings on:

Norms of interaction and interpretation:

Contacts among and status of groups in schools, including: control of formal and informal territory (physical and social); academic and social isolation; friendship choices; confrontations, conflicts, and "symbolic encounters"; teacher-teacher interaction; selective recruitment to participate in classes or activities.

Patterns of teacher-student interaction, including: "bending-over backward" and uses of praise; negative and positive labeling; selective encouragement/discouragement with respect to future prospects; expectations for performance in class and on homework; instructional styles displayed in "high" and "low" classes; confrontations, conflicts and "symbolic encounters"; teacher effect on student friendship choices; discipline; examples or materials in class.

Approved and disapproved roles (shared expectations) for principals and teachers in managing rapid and imposed change caused by court-ordered desegregation.

Assimilationist versus pluralistic assumptions, views and practices.

Interpretations of the situation conveyed by inservices, e.g., those aimed at sensitivity training, racism, and human relations versus those aimed at instructional technique.

Definitions of and explanations of problems, including academic failure and behavioral disruption; use of a deficit model; norms of monoculturalism or multiculturalism.

Structures and arrangements:

Policies on attendance, grading, sorting and curriculum placement, promotion, academic performance, teacher-parent contacts and discipline.

Differentiation (grouping, tracking) in classes and across classes.

Curriculum.

Materials.

Context:

Locus of control over desegregation (e.g., voluntary versus court-ordered).

Composition of school (staff and students). SES composition, ethnic composition; staff years' experience.

Stability of student body (mobility) and staff (turnover).

Rate of change (desegregation).

Second, this work has been informed by previous research on organizational change in schools. Staff development has typically been conducted as a set of activities aimed at improving the professional capabilities of individual teachers (McLaughlin and Marsh, 1978; for one of the few examples of a contrasting approach centered on organizational norms, see Miller and Wolf, 1978). Yet staff development as an intervention in organizational settings (or even as an extra-organizational intervention with persons who must nonetheless continue to operate in organizational settings) must necessarily take into account the processes of and prospects for change. In designing this exploratory research, we focused on this critical but relatively unexplored dimension of staff development. Existing work suggests the potential relevance of selected organizational features of schools and organizational change dimensions of desegregation to the relative effectiveness of staff development:

Norms of interaction and interpretation:

Role complexity: conflict and consensus with respect to particular aspects of teacher and administrator roles; roles of the principal, teachers and students as viewed by themselves and others.

Norms of teacher-teacher interaction: collegiality; expectations for professional involvement or growth; occasions for joint work; norms for appropriate topics, e.g., in the lounge, in faculty meetings, in hallways, in inservices; norms governing observations of others' work; practices of forming impressions of competence; patterns of informal influence.

Norms of teacher-principal interaction: patterns of support or resistance for change; initial versus emergent support or resistance; practices of crediting and discrediting work; expectations for the conduct and consequences of evaluation; occasions for interaction; norms governing appropriate topics for discussion; mode of interaction, e.g., discussion versus lecturing/demands; expectations for teachers' or principals' participation in formal staff development; expectations for collegial work; distribution of knowledge about--agreement about--roles.

Norms governing outsiders: occasions for and design of outsider-conducted staff development; "ceremonial rain dances"; occasions for use of experts; expectations for outsiders' observations of teachers or administrators; expectations for outsiders' talk with teachers and administrators; expectations for team work with outsiders.

Teachers' and principals' sense of efficacy.

Teachers' and principals' knowledge of and view of the system and its tolerance for specific change.

Teachers' views of own role: the practicality ethic and the privacy ethic; practitioner as change agent; teacher as victim of external forces.

Teachers' practices of judging worth and relevance of new ideas and new practices.

Teachers' and principals' view of the appropriate nature, use, and consequences of staff development.

Co[illegible]:

Role of the union in the district and influence in individual schools.

Extent of organizational dislocation, e.g., staff transfers, produced by desegregation.

Internal versus external impetus for change.

Transience of most forms of outside help.

History of change in the district or building.

Declining enrollment

Structures and arrangements:

Policies governing recertification and pay increments.

Bureaucractic decision-making, including scheduling; budgeting; assignments to space; assignments to curriculum; teaching load; committee and extracurricular involvements; integration of or separation of staff development from routine school obligations.

Existence of district staff development.

Pressure for professional improvement.

Third, advances in role theory offered an analytic framework or interpretive point of departure by which to organize our descriptions of social situations. Specifically, we drew from the work of Jackson (1966) and Kjolseth (1972) to characterize the school setting in terms of shared expectations (norms) for acts in situations; we drew on Gross, Mason, and McEachern (1958) for illustrations of the way in which such norms might be expressed in school organization. Together, these sources provided an analytic framework which lent itself to organizing descriptions across situations and which lends itself to subsequent quantitation study.

B. INQUIRY MATRIX AND DISCUSSION GUIDE

Drawing from the literature and from interviews with district staff development personnel, we prepared a matrix of guiding questions about the school setting as a work setting, teachers, and principals at work, and the nature and role of staff development activity (attachment B). This matrix established a broad context for this work; although we could not expect this specific study to inform all cells in the matrix, the matrix did provide a context in which to place our interviews, observations and review of materials, and gave a point of departure for the presentation of findings and the formulation of hypotheses.

In an effort to translate the central interests of the matrix into a guide for interviews and observations in schools, we prepared a discussion guide (attachment A). The first draft of this guide was reviewed during the first group meeting of the Progress Review Group, and the present format incorporates several of their suggestions about topic, language, tone, and sequence.

C. METHODS FOR PRESERVING FOCUS

Our previous experience in the collection and analysis of ethnographic records (Little, 1973, 1976, 1978,) and the experience of others (Kjolseth, 1972; Deutscher, 1973; Erickson, 1977; Fienberg, 1977) led us to believe that specific methodological features of this work would contribute to the preservation and emerging clarity of the research focus.

Selection of settings. First, we faced a dilemma in which the unit of analysis for a theory of change is most properly the school, while the unit of analysis (and sampling) for an investigation of practice was, at this stage, somewhat unclear. (For example, if the proper unit of analysis is the situated interaction, the sampling problems are formidable.) To offer a broad enough base for description (N>1), we based the work in six schools, three elementary and three secondary, having a range of involvement in staff development. Within each school, we sought to expose the full array of situations in which teachers "learn on the job," and the interactions by which they do so. In so doing, we were led away from singular attention to teachers' work in classrooms and into a more wide-ranging exploration of the school as a workplace.

A Range of complementary methods. A combination of qualitative methods offered breadth and depth of description. We relied on taped semistructured interviews, informal conversations, classroom observations recorded on tape or in field notes, and field note records of witnessed informal interactions among teachers and others. In each instance, we treated persons' *talk* in school situations and about school situations as our principal empirical resource.

Phasing of Data Collection and Analysis. We expected, on the basis of previous experience in ethnography, that these efforts to establish prior focus would narrow the scope of inquiry but would be inadequate to prepare us for the particular shape that our inquiry would assume once we began the business of talking, listening, and watching in schools. That is, the focus would assume greater clarity, revealing unanticipated dimensions and referents. To permit emerging discoveries to exert greatest leverage on the work, we engaged in preliminary analysis in the course of data collection. Three methodological devices supported out intent to have emerging clarity inform the ethnographic work. First, we found that by keeping a journal separate from field notes we could record emerging curiosities, hunches, and tentative discoveries that did not have the status of "analyses" or "findings" but that did suggest ways in which the inquiry was taking shape in the field. Second, we found that establishing a research partnership with teachers and administrators in schools created a situation in which field notes and tape transcripts became the subject of joint review and analysis, and in which the discovery of relevant questions became an integral part of the research enterprise. Third, we found that by establishing a card file of major resources drawn from the literature in each of the focal areas of the ethnography and a card file of key discoveries from the field (organized along the same dimensions), we could continuously trace the ways in which prior work and present work informed each other. And fourth, as a matter of logistics, we arranged for recorded interviews, events, conversations, and the like to be transcribed immediately instead of at the end of a data collection period, thus providing a cumulative and systematic basis for the refinement of the inquiry.

D. SITE SELECTION

The basic underlying interest of this study revolves around the contribution made by staff development to the success enjoyed by schools in areas of academic achievement, attendance, program completion, and community support. The study design therefore called for selection of schools that represented a range of circumstances, both with respect to greater or lesser "success" and with respect to greater or lesser involvement in staff development activity. While the design appeared relatively straightforward on paper, there remained several questions to be worked out and procedures to be confirmed.

> Summary statistics offered a crude (but comparable) indicator of success that could serve as a starting point for selection. Assistance from the district in assembling and ordering such data was essential to the first stage of the work.
>
> Summary data were necessarily both incomplete and out of date. They were incomplete because they could not capture all that goes into making a good school; and they were out of date because these data are reported annually rather than monthly. Assistance from the district in filling in gaps, qualifying existing data and adding observations gave us greater confidence in the judgements we made about each school.
>
> Selection of site schools was confirmed with assistant superintendents, the Department of Staff Development, and building principals. Anonymity and confidentiality of site schools was assured for all reports and publications resulting from this study.

Early in stage one we completed arrangements with the district for review of available statistical data on each of the 90 elementary and 27 secondary schools. Review of these data served as a first step in narrowing the list to six schools, three elementary and three secondary, to which we would issue invitations to participate. Elementary schools were ranked above or below the district median on standardized achievement scores in reading, language, and math. Secondary schools were ranked on median achievement and on dropout (holding power) and suspension. (For dropout and suspension, but not for achievement, we were able to get data for each ethnic group.) Schools that had maintained positions above the median since 1977 were ranked as "high success" schools; those that had improved markedly from 1977 to 1979 were considered "moderately successful"; and those that had declined during that period or had been below the median for the entire time were deemed "low success schools".

Second, we asked district personnel to list for us those schools that had been involved as schools in formal district programs of staff development. (We excluded from consideration the court-ordered human relations inservices, since all must participate.) Again, this served as only a crude measure of relative involvement, and risked overlooking school involvement in non-district programs (e.g., university-based Teacher Corps.) As it turned out, however, the only instance of "overlooking" formal school involvement that we have encountered is in a school that we had already designated as high involvement on the basis of participation in district programs. That is, we have not so far discovered "mistakes" that would have led us to reclassify a participating school, or grounds of nominal participation.[1]

Using our nominal success rankings and our list of relatively more involved and relatively less involved schools, we sorted schools into categories representing combinations of success and involvement. In accordance with our agreement with NIE in October, 1979, we omitted consideration of schools that fell in the "low success, low involvement" category. Further, in listing the elementary schools, we initially included only the "high success" schools in order to narrow the possibilities. When we met with the assistant superintendents, however, we carried with us the list of "moderately successful" schools so that schools could be added if there were circumstances or characteristics about which the administrators knew but which were not reflected in the summary statistics. Four elementary schools were added to the list by administrator recommendation. The result was a selection pool of elementary and secondary schools in each of three categories.

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[1] Our findings have, however, led us to distinguish nominal participation from credited, influential participation.

Recent Participation in District Staff Development	Relative Success	
	More Successful	Less Successful
yes	3 high schools 1 junior high 12 elementary	2 high schools 3 junior highs 5 elementary
no	3 high schools 7 junior high 8 elementary	N/A

We had intended at this stage to select randomly one elementary and one secondary school from each of the three cells. However, in the course of conversation with assistant superintendents, we found that schools within each cell differed in other respects that made the prospects for participation vary substantially. For example, one of the high schools in the "high success, high involvement" category was undergoing an extensive accreditation evaluation; another school was viewed as intrisically less interesting for the purposes of this study because the school's success was widely attributed to the large numbers of bused-in white students from an affluent section of the city. In place of random selection, we elicited judgments from the assistant superintendents about schools that would constitute appropriate settings for the study (e.g., where success was though to be a matter of internal accomplishment and not externally imposed and fortuitous circumstances) and that might be willing to join us as partners. To ease our entry, the assistant superintendents issued a memo to each of our "first choice" schools, informing them of the study, asking them to hear us out, and assuring them that the decision whether to participate rested with them (attachment D). A few days after the memo had been sent, we contacted each of the principals and made arrangements for a personal interview to explain the study and to discuss their possible participation. We prepared three-page "invitations" (attachment C) for distribution to teachers and presented each principal with a twenty-page project summary. On the basis of these sessions, we secured four agreements for participation and arranged to begin data collection 14 January 1980 in the first of the elementary schools.[1] Because we entered Christmas break with only four of the six needed agreements, we were faced with continuing our negotiations with schools at the same time that we began data collection. A fifth agreement was made on 14 January, and a sixth on 11 February. In effect, it took approximately twenty weeks to confirm all of the procedural arrangements required for Stage One, though agreements sufficient to begin Stage Two were in hand by the tenth week.

The six schools with which we ultimately formed agreements varied in a number of respects apart from their degree of recorded success and their level of formal involvement in staff development. First, they varied in their ethnic and socioeconomic composition. All six schools have students who are Black, Anglo, Chicano, and Oriental, and five schools report a small population of Indian Students. Two of the schools have a majority of Black students (51 percent, 56 percent) and participate in court-ordered busing. The four remaining schools have large populations of Chicano, or Spanish-surnamed, students (34 percent, 41 percent, 46 percent, and 65 percent). In one school, a uniformly low-income student population is viewed as more problematic for success than is the ethnic or racial composition.

Second, the schools varied in the extent to which they were directly affected by the court-ordered desegregation. Of the three elementary schools, one was involved in the original lawsuit and has experienced substantial faculty turnover (including transfers to integrate the faculty) and a variety of busing and school pairing arrangements. The other two elementary schools are in neighborhoods that are naturally integrated; their faculties have remained relatively stable, they draw a mix of students from contiguous neighborhoods, and their changes in minority enrollment have occurred at a relatively slow and stable pace. Of the three secondary schools, one is an inner-city, predominantly minority school that has remained largely untouched by the court-ordered integration. Many of the teachers have taught there for twenty years or more. The remaining two secondary schools were suburban schools, relatively affluent and homogenously white-middle class prior to integration. One of the two has experienced an increase in minority enrollment through a shift in residential patterns, with increasing numbers of Chicano and Oriental families entering the school's attendance area. The second school--reportedly the most affluent and prestigious in Denver prior to integration--has experienced large-scale busing, with a rapid and substantial change in the racial and socioeconomic composition of the student population. However, there have been relatively few faculty transfers, and a large core group of long-term, influential faculty members is credited with maintaining high standards for performance and an emphasis on learning through several years of "transition".

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[1] Delays in completing partnership agreements were attributable to the need to accommodate the schedules of school personnel--schedules often subject to last-minute changes beyond our control or theirs. At no time did we encounter any reluctance to provide us access to data or people. Nonetheless, the delays caused by scheduling difficulties placed us in a position of holding site negotiations with schools in December, too close to Christmas vacation to initiate data collection.

These brief descriptions illustrate some of the variations in circumstances that characterize the six participating schools. See Table 1. At the outset of our work in each school, these differences stood as rather crude grounds on which we distinguished one setting from another. As we engaged in talking, listening, and watching in the schools, however, the commonalities and differences became less crude, more invested with the sort of detail and imagery that hold promise both for practical advice and for the development of hypotheses.

E. DATA COLLECTION

In a nineteen week period, interviews were conducted with fourteen members of the district's central administration, 105 teachers and fourteen administrators in six schools (see Table 2); observations were conducted in the classrooms of eighty teachers, in six staff development (inservice) meetings, and in the hallways, lunchrooms, faculty meetings, lounges, offices, and grounds of the six schools.

In each school we arranged to spend two-thirds to three-fourths of our time in scheduled interviews or observations. The remaining time was spent in informal conversation and observations in the major public arenas of school life: hallways, offices, grounds, faculty lounge.

Interviews and observations were prefaced by informal conversations with administrators and participating teachers. These untaped conversations set the tone for subsequent work by confirming that participation was voluntary, by reviewing the aims and methods of the study, and by attending to questions ranging from theoretical relevance to the logistics of scheduling.

Interviews were semistructured, given direction and comprability by the inquiry matrix and discussion guide. In elementary schools, interviews were sought with the building principal and all members of the faculty (see Table 1). In secondary schools, where interviewing each member of a large faculty was not feasible, we concentrated on the administrative team and a purposive sample

TABLE I

SUMMARY CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS

DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTIC	ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS			SECONDARY SCHOOLS		
	Carey	Smallwood	Westlake	Park HS	Springer JHS	Reed JHS
SUCCESS	Low/moderate	High	High	Low	High	High
STAFF DEVELOPMENT	High Schoolwide faculty participation in two week training in instructional improvement, with classroom follow-up	Low Individual teachers take classes, workshops	High Three year faculty and principal training in mastery learning as one of five pilot schools. Weekly inservice, classroom observation	High Two year collaboration with Teacher Corps for school-based training Faculty group participation (one-third) in two week instructional improvement training	High Group participation (one-third) in two week training in instructional improvement, with classroom follow-up	Low Individuals' attendance at mastery learning training (one week, with follow up observation)
BUSING FOR INTEGRATION	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes
PAIRED SCHOOL FOR INTEGRATION	yes	no	yes in early stages; not presently	N/A	N/A	N/A
ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION:						
White	37.0%	54.0%	56.0%	27.1%	45.0%	40.3%
Black	56.0%	2.1%	3.8%	3.5%	6.3%	51.0%
Hispanic	3.1%	41.4%	34.0%	64.5%	46.0%	5.7%
Oriental	3.6%	2.3%	4.6%	3.6%	1.8%	3.0%
American Indian	0.0%	.7%	1.9%	1.3%	.8%	.4%

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATIONS

	ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS			SECONDARY SCHOOLS			
	Carey	Smallwood	Westlake	Park	Springer	Reed	Total
Total administrators assigned	1	1	1	4	3	4	14
Administrators interviewed	1	1	1	4	3	4	14
Total faculty	18	20	20	103	52	63	276
Teachers interviewed	16	19	17*	18	16	19	105
Teachers observed	14	19	16	16	7	8	80
Inservices observed	1	(1)**	1	1	0	2	6
Faculty meetings	2	1	1	1	1	1	7

* Three faculty who serve as staff of the program for autistic children were not included

** Combination faculty meeting/inservice of teachers.[1] Interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to two hours, scheduled by teachers' preferences before, during, or after the school day. (In elementary schools, an interview occasionally required three separate planning periods). Wherever possible (i.e., wherever the situation was appropriate and the teachers willing), interviews were tape recorded. Untaped interviews and observations were recorded in field notes. Assurances of confidentiality and anonymity were given before each interview.

Interviews provided a basis for determining relevant interactions and situations that might, on a limited basis, be subject to direct observation. We understood that accounts offered to us in informal or formal interview situations might be qualitatively different from evidence generated in conversations among teachers or students or between teachers and students in naturally occurring interaction. We thus sought limited opportunities to collect data in naturally occurring situations (in situ). Nonetheless, Rosenbaum (1976) has shown that even some of the most subtle norms of interaction between teachers and students, documented in studies of actual classroom interaction, are also reported by students in out-of-class interviews. We expected that the principal settings, interactions, and relationships that distinguish groups in the school were recognizable to and reportable by teachers and administrators, and that they would be reported sufficiently often and sufficiently clearly to make a limited ethnographic study of this sort fruitful. Discrepancies between accounts of what persons say and what they do (Deutscher, 1973) were minimized by tying interviews closely to situationally specific instances and by formulating variables which lent themselves to subsequent measurement in natural settings.

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[1] The specific arrangement varied by school, in accordance with preferences stated by the principal. The principal of Park High School recruited a group of teachers that he considered "mixed" in terms of their classroom performance and their commitment to continuous improvement; in addition, he arranged for other interviews to insure that department and committee chairmen were represented. At one of the junior highs, the principal recruited four "successful" teachers for intensive interviewing and extended observation, then asked for volunteers to participate in interviews only. At Reed Junior High, the principal similarly recruited six teachers individually who were viewed by the administration and by fellow teachers as successful; these six participated in extensive interviews and two-day observations. Another ten teachers, also recruited by the administration, participated in interviews and limited observation, and others volunteered in person during the course of the field work.

F. DATA ANALYSIS

Throughout the analysis, we preserved a careful reliance on persons' *talk*[1]--in interviews and in naturally occurring interaction--as the ground for all interpretation and inference. The availability of and reliance on these records of actual talk constitutes one check on the limitations, or biases, introduced by researchers' own perspectives.

1. Organizing the Data

The first step in organizing the data was to complete the transformation of all data to a visual record, subject to systematic review. All taped interviews were thereby transcribed in verbatim transcripts. To eliminate the need for extensive (and invariably inadequate)[2]--tape editing rules, we asked that transcribers record faithfully all audible words, i.e., all that was said, including all of the false starts and hesitations. Upon return, transcripts were edited only to remove all person and place names, replacing them with pseudonyms.

Field notes were arrayed with transcripts in notebooks, organized by school and respondent. All subsequent analyses and transformations of the data are traceable to talk recorded in one of these two data sources.

Relying on teachers' and administrators' recorded statements, we generated a set of summary descriptive statements (3190 in all), each reflecting a practice and a set of dyadic role relations (e.g.,

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[1] Albert Scheflen (1973) has been criticized for abandoning a careful reliance on the record ("turning away from the words") to make interpretations of what is "really happening" in a therapeutic interview (cited in Labov and Fanshel, 1977, pp. 21). Certainly social science requires interpretation and inference, but by proceeding in the way that he has, Scheflen has made it impossible to recover the evidence on which his judgments have been based.

[2] Garfinkel's (1967) essay on coding practices suggested that the coded (edited) version of the data must always and necessarily be flawed as persons work to make ad hoc decisions about unanticipated or anomolous cases. Applying to practices of inquiry that same principle that Moerman (1968) proposed to cover practices of interaction, we can say that (editing) rules will never sufficiently account for the occasions of their actual use.

"we lend and borrow materials"). Summary statements were recorded for each respondent on index cards and assembled for each school in broad categories derived from the inquiry matrix.

These cards served as the basis for all subsequent description and analysis. References to original transcripts and field notes were made only to retreive the actual quotation from which the summary statement was drawn, for purposes of illustration in the text.

To convert large volume of recorded talk to a smaller number of summary statements, we relied upon four principles of selection. The first is derived from the analytic and theoretical framework offered by role theory (and specifically Jackson, 1966; Gross, Mason and McEachern, 1958; and Kjolseth, 1972). The remaining three are drawn from Pittenger, Hockett and Danehy and their work developing techniques for sociolinguistic microanalysis.

Situated practice. The elemental unit of analysis is the situated interaction. To inventory such interactions, we relied on a basic heuristic:

WHO, in what position,	teacher counselor administrator staff developer	is

required encouraged permitted discouraged forbidden	to do WHAT,	with to for on behalf of	WHOM,

HOW, under what CIRCUMSTANCES, for what STATED PURPOSES, and with what apparent CONSEQUENCES?

Inventoried across nominal role groups, key work situations or schools, recurrent practices comprise group, situational or role repertoires that serve as the basis for describing the normative culture of the school.

Immanent reference. "No matter what else human beings may be communicating about, or may think they are communicating about, they are always communicating about themselves, about one another, and about the immediate context. . . ." Thus, as teachers described the business that transpires in faculty meetings or department meetings, they also necessarily characterized a set of social relationships among colleagues.

Recurrence. "Anyone will tell us, over and over again . . . what sort of person he is, what his affiliations with cultural subgroups are, what his likes and dislikes are, and so on . . . crucial patterns of communication will not be manifested just once." Thus, in mining the transcripts and field notes, we were guided by the search for recurrent points, tales told over and over again, that added up over many interviews to a picture of a school culture. In mining the transcripts of individual respondents the principle of recurrence enabled investigators to distinguish major from minor points, practices that were considered central to the work from practices that carried less weight; in constructing a description of the school as a workplace, the principle of recurrence enabled investigators to sustain a distinction between normative patterns and individual idiosyncracies.

Contrast and the working principle of reasonable alternatives. "There is no way to understand a signal that does not involve recognizing what the signal is not as well as what it is."

2. Descriptions

Applying these four principles, then, we constructed for each school, each respondent, and each nominal reference group (teachers, administrators, counselors), a finite set of descriptive statements.

These descriptions, in each of the six schools, yielded a set of practices by which teachers and administrators in that school defined their respective roles and characterized their approach to "learning on the job". The statements further characterized practices according to their relative frequency, the degree to which persons approved or disapproved their inclusion in the work, and their value along certain other deimensions (e.g., utility or "practicality"; reciprocity or "professionalism"). Traced across respondents and nominal role groups, they served as the basis for establishing how broadly or narrowly, firmly or tenuously established were certain practices, i.e., how central they were to persons' views of their work. Taken as classes of interaction, they showed nature and boundaries of teachers' and administrators' role repertoire. And finally, they were the basis for examining points of continuity or discontinuity between practices or role repertoires envisioned by staff development programs and those presently approved and enacted in the course of daily work in schools.

This first stage of descriptive work was summarized in a set of six case studies, included as appendix A of this report. In these case studies, we addressed those questions included in the "synchronic" dimension of the inquiry matrix.

3. Comparisons and Contrasts: Formulating Propositions

Even within schools, some practices demonstrably exerted more normative power than others. They were held more widely, characterized more clearly, stressed more frequently. In subsequent analyses, we looked for ways in which the central practices that characterized "being a teacher" or "being a principal" were differentially distributed across groups, across groups within schools, or across key work situations in and out of classrooms. Here, we addressed those questions included in the "domain"[1] dimension of the inquiry matrix.

For this step, we merged the inventories of central work and learning practices for all six schools into a central inventory of sixty illustrative practices. Twenty-six of these, falling in four general classes, turned out to distinguish successful from unsuccessful schools and active from inactive staff development participation. We termed these the "core practices of adaptibility" and concentrated on discovering how and under what circumstances those acts were practiced, by whom, and with what apparent implications for staff development. The results of these analyses are developed in "Analysis and Summary of Findings," chapter II of the main body of this report, and are summarized in the set of propositions posed as key points in the argument.

G. METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS

1. Limitations of the Sample.

As in any ethongraphic study, we have run the risk of inadequately supported inference based on a small N and an unrepresentative (nonprobability) sample of schools and teachers. The adequacy of the description for each of the three secondary schools is also in doubt by virtue of having interviewed only one-third of the faculty in those schools.

2. Selection of Critical Work Settings.

Descriptions and observations of teachers at work focused heavily on classroom practice, on the assumption that the classroom is the ultimate context to which staff development influence is directed. As our analysis progress, it became clear that teachers' receptivity to staff development was closely bound up with norms of in-school interaction among teachers and between teachers and administrators that are best reflected in other work settings: faculty and department meetings, the faculty lounge, committee meetings and even casual encounters in the hall. In light of subsequent analysis, the discussion and observation of central work situations was not broad enough; a more detailed description of nonclassroom settings would have strengthened the descriptions and inferences.

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[1] The remaining dimension ("diachronic" description and analysis) cannot be addressed here, inasmuch as it requires longitudinal study.

3. Specificity of the Data.

The focus on specific practices (interactions) as the primitive analytic term required description at a level of detail not always attained in interviews. Particularly where teachers were unaccustomed to describing the business of teaching with detail and precision, the descriptions offered were sometimes inadequate to the requirements [illegible] the analysis. For example, elementary school teachers invariably describe "handling reading groups" as a major task of their day. Unrevealed in most accounts (even when teachers are pressed for "how they conduct the group") is the broad array of highly specific tactics that differentiate one teacher's "handling" of reading groups from another's. Teachers whose involvement with staff development had been most extensive, and who credited staff development with influence on their perspectives and practices, also tended to command a more elaborate and precise vocabulary for describing their work in and out of classrooms, and to couch their descriptions more frequently in terms of guiding concepts or rationales.

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Attachment A:

Discussion Guide

STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND SUCCESSFUL SCHOOLS STUDY

A GENERAL DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWS WITH ADMINISTRATORS, TEACHERS, AND COUNSELORS IN ______ SCHOOLS

The following discussion guide illustrates a line of questioning in three topic areas. Each topic area has been introduced by a rationale that suggests a direction for specific questions (including probes) and a framework for other on-site observations. The present topic areas and lead questions have been formulated in accordance with two considerations:

1) Questions should be sufficiently focused to draw out experiences and views in several key areas previously highlighted in relevant literature. Current research on desegregated schools and in the management of organizational change offers clues to those aspects of desegregation and school change most likely to be influential, problematic and presumably subject to management through staff development. A set of potential probes to accompany each lead question will record key issues drawn from the literature and, over time, from interviewees.

2) Questions should, on the other hand, be sufficiently general to permit us in fact to learn from teachers, administrators, students and others in schools. As presently formulated, the questions allow interviewees to expand on those aspects of school experience that are critical to them, and to introduce new topics and questions. Because questions are in some respects very general, interviewers will seek stories and examples from interviewees that illustrate more general or abstract observations.

In sum, the discussion guide will be used to sustain a focus for the exploratory work in six schools but will remain sufficiently flexible to capture situationally relevant experiences and views. In no case will the guide be used simply as a structured interview guide, with interviewers running through a uniform sequence of questions. (Questions on the attached sheets are numbered only for ease of reference by team members.) We expect that changes in the discussion guide will be informed by analysis of data (tapes and field notes) collected early in Stage Two and by topics and questions explicitly introduced by interviewees in the course of interviews. In preliminary interviews with staff development personnel, a useful device has been to ask before the end of each interview, "Are there any questions I should have asked you that I haven't?" We expect to use the same device in interviews with persons in schools. In some schools, principals may set up an occasion before interviewing begins for some administrative and teaching personnel to review the discussion guide; such an occasion could serve to negotiate the role of the school as a partner in the research, and to introduce topics and lead questions already known by school personnel to be situationally relevant.

Preliminary data analysis will be initiated based on the first 1/4 to 1/3 of the interviews in each school, and revisions to the discussion guide entered, before interviews for that school are completed. By proceeding in that way, we provide some assurance that the experiences and views characteristic of each school are reflected in the data. (By waiting to initiate analysis until all data were collected we would run the risk of "missing the boat" on some key areas in each school.)

Because there are only two interviewers, working closely as a team, we expect that changes in the discussion guide prompted by interviews can be made in the course of weekly (or even daily) team review sessions.

The nature of the present questions, including the language used, reflects the advice of members of the Progress Review Group (comprised of teachers, principals, district personnel, an SEA representative and a university faculty member).

TOPIC 1: *GAINING AN UNDERSTANDING OF EACH SCHOOL*

RATIONALE	LEADING QUESTIONS	COMMENTS
Our ability to make sense of observations about staff development will hinge in large part on our understanding of the context in which those observations are made--the setting of each particular school as it is viewed and reported by school administrators, teachers, counselors, students, and others. We have two reasons for wanting to gain a good understanding of each school situation: 1. This is a study of staff development and successful schools. Yet the information that is routinely and publicly available about schools (achievement scores, attendance figures, dropout rates, etc.) cannot capture all that goes into making a good school. What we can know about a school from examining these data is limited. Thus, in our visits to schools and our conversations with school personnel and students, we will seek their views of the most successful and least successful aspects of the school and their view of how staff development does (or might) contribute to success.	1. I'd like to start by asking you to give me an introduction to (name of school). If I'm going to understand what being a [teacher, principal, counselor, student] here is like, what are the most important things for me to know? 2. Tell me something about an ordinary day (week). 3. If you could rearrange your time, what would get more attention? What would get less? 4. What stands out to you as the strong points of this school--aspects of the school that make it a good place for kids to go to school? A good place for [teachers, administrators, counselors] to work? 5. What are the aspects of your own work here that you have been most pleased with, have the most confidence in? 6. (Name of school) has quite a mixed population of kids. Looking at the work you do every day, what would you pick out as making the most difference to whether kids succeed?	

RATIONALE	LEADING QUESTIONS	COMMENTS
2. This is a study of how staff development does (or could) contribute to success in schools with diverse populations of students. The assumption is that urban schools--and particularly desegregated schools--face a particularly demanding set of circumstances. Yet the current literature on desegregated schools (with few notable exceptions) offers little understanding of what the day-to-day reality of working in schools amounts to. And the literature on staff development notes that greatest gains are made when assistance is tied to the immediate practical concerns and responsibilities of schools and school personnel--apparently a somewhat rare event. Thus, in our visits to schools and in our conversations with school personnel, we want to gain an understanding of the "real world" in which schools' success is sought and in which a relevant and useful role of staff development must be constructed.	7. Again keeping in mind the diverse population of students, what aspects of the overall school situation here at (name of school), if changed or strengthened, would make the most difference to kids' success? What would make the most difference to your success as a [teacher, principal, counselor] and to your satisfaction in working here? 8. What about in your own work? Are there any aspects of your own work that, if changed in some way, would make you more satisfied? 9. Are there things you are doing now in your [teaching, administration, counseling] that you weren't doing five years ago? 10. Drawing from your experience here, what aspects of working in an urban desegregated school place the greatest demands on the competence of a [teacher, administrator, counselor]? 11, If you were to prepare someone new for being a [teacher, administrator, counselor] at (name of school), what would you focus on? (Probe for more than one response.)	

RATIONALE	LEADING QUESTIONS	COMMENTS
	12. What advice would you give to people who were inexperienced in this position? Experienced, but not in urban schools? Experienced in other urban schools?	
	13. How long have you been in education? As a [teacher, principal, counselor]? At this school?	

RATIONALE	LEADING QUESTIONS	COMMENTS
If staff development is to be practical and relevant, it will have to address present experience and issues in local schools. Yet resources (money, time, energy, commitment, policy support) are inevitably limited. Thus, in our conversations with school personnel, we will be seeking judgments about those aspects of school experience where staff development can have the greatest leverage--can be simultaneously relevant, useful, feasible, and consequential.	14. You've mentioned some parts of your own work that you think make a difference to students' success. Did you enter [teaching, administration, counseling] knowing that, or did you learn it on the job? (If on the job: Here? How? With whose assistance?)	
	15. You've mentioned __ areas in which what you're doing this year is different from what you did several years ago. What led you to make the change? If you had a chance to turn back the clock, what help could you have used?	
	16. Drawing on your own experience, and being as specific as you can, what makes the difference between a successful and unsuccessful school?	
	17. In light of that, where would you rank staff development (defining staff development as broadly or narrowly as you want) as a contributor to success? (What has its actual contribution been? How much of a contribution could it reasonably make?)	

RATIONALE	LEADING QUESTIONS	COMMENTS
	18. In the last several years, schools have gone through some very large and rapid changes, changes that have not been under the control of individual teachers or principals but that have affected everybody. Looking back on your own experience during the past five years, what part did staff development play in helping you deal with the practical business of managing those changes? What assistance would have been valuable if it had been available?	
	19. What activities are going on now at (name of school), or involving people from here, that you would define as staff development? In each of these instances, what is the focus? What difference is it supposed to make?	

RATIONALE	LEADING QUESTIONS	COMMENTS
The effectiveness of staff development appears to depend not only on its focus and content (what it attempts to influence), but also on how it is planned, designed and conducted. In our conversations with school personnel, we will be seeking observations about what mode of assistance has been or would be most useful, under what circumstances and for what purposes.	20. You've mentioned ___ activities going on now that you would define as staff development. In each of these instances: Who proposed the activity? Who designed it? Who is conducting it? Who is participating in it?	
	21. Looking at these activities, or at any others you've been involved in during the last two years, what have been the strongest parts? Can you give an example of a staff development activity that you would have recommended to others as a "good thing?"	
	22. If you were to design a program of staff development to begin this school year, what would it look like? What would it focus on? What steps would you follow (or prefer to see followed) in its design and implementation? What kinds of activities would people participate in (e.g., lectures, workshops, visits to other schools, classroom observation, etc.)? Who would conduct it? What time commitment would participants expect to give, and for what purposes? What time commitment would participants expect to get, and for what purposes?	

RATIONALE	LEADING QUESTIONS	COMMENTS
	23. There are many demands or requests that cross your path each week--potential commitments that consume time and energy. How do you [as a teacher, administrator, counselor] decide on priorities? How about the staff as a group?	
	24. What would make you [as a teacher, administrator, counselor] give priority to a proposal for staff development? (What would make it persuasive in the competition for your time and attention?) How about the staff as a group?	
	25. In one recent article, the authors note that their very presence in the school as staff developers contributed to some of the problems they were there to alleviate. At (name of school), who (what positions, formal or informal) are encouraged or permitted to raise issues of change? Does anyone try to "sell" anyone else on new methods, materials, policy?	
	26. Is there a person or group at (name of school) that is responsible for noticing opportunities for staff development, and for making requests or proposals?	

RATIONALE	LEADING QUESTIONS	COMMENTS
	27. Compared to all your other responsibilities, how important is staff development to you? How important would you predict that it is to other [teachers, administrators, counselors] at (name of school)?	
	ARE THERE ANY QUESTIONS WE SHOULD HAVE ASKED YOU THAT WE HAVEN'T?	

Attachment B:

An Inquiry Matrix for Organizing Descriptions of Staff Development in Urban Schools

The temptation is great in any exploratory research to generate an ever-expanding list of intriguing questions. The attached matrices illustrate one way to organize potential inquiries in a way that makes clear to researchers and collaborators in schools the overall context in which a particular piece of research takes place and the particular contribution it is expected to make.

These matrices suggest guiding questions and an organizational framework for descriptive work in several related arenas: the school setting as a work setting; teachers' and administrators' views of and observable exercise of effective practice; teachers' and administrators' views of and experiences in learning on-the-job; and the role of formal staff development.

The matrices are designed to take into account:

1) Distinctions (conceptual and methodological) between persons' perceptions and recorded practice.

2) Distinctions between (among?) the work situation in which persons find themselves, the practices they claim or display, and the efforts they do or do not make to learn while on-the-job.

3) Distinctions among perceptions and practices reported at any given time and place (synchronic), changes over time (diachronic), and differences across schools (domain).

A MATRIX FOR ORGANIZING DESCRIPTIONS OF THE WORK OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT PERSONNEL

	The Setting for Staff Development			The Work of Staff Development		
	Synchronic Description	Diachronic Description	Domain Description	Synchronic Description	Diachronic Description	Domain Description
Perceived Practice	1 What practices, policies or conditions of schools or districts are perceived by staff development personnel* as supporting or inhibiting teachers' and administrators' or schools' use of inservice education?	2 Do the perceptions of staff development personnel change over time?	3 Do the perceptions of staff development personnel vary from one school, district (or community) setting to another?	7 What practices and approaches are viewed by staff development personnel as most likely to attract participation? Most likely to influence practice? What do personnel perceive their own practices to be?	8 Do perceptions of effective inservice education practices, held by staff development personnel, change over time?	9 Do perceptions of effective inservice education practices held by staff development personnel vary from one school or district setting to another?
Observed Practice	4 What aspects of the school or district setting do staff development personnel observably take into account? What aspects of the setting observably support of hinder the use of inservice education?	5 What aspects of the school or district setting, considered important by staff development personnel, change over time and under what conditions?	6 What aspects of the district or school setting, considered important by staff development personnel, vary demonstrably from one setting to another?	10 What approaches are observably employed for inservice? What approaches are demonstrably effective in attracting participation? What approaches are demonstrably followed by a change in teacher practice?	11 Do inservice education practices change over time?	12 Do inservice practices vary demonstrably from one school or district setting to another?

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*or inservice educators of any kind.

A MATRIX FOR ORGANIZING DESCRIPTIONS OF TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS AT WORK

	The Work Setting			Teachers and Administrators at Work			Teachers and Administrators Learning on-the-job		
	Synchronic Description	Diachronic Description	Domain Description	Synchronic Description	Diachronic Description	Domain Description	Synchronic Description	Diachronic Description	Domain Description
ived ice	1 What policies, practices or conditions of a district or school do teachers and administrators perceive to be important to their own effectiveness or satisfaction?	2 Do teachers' and administrators' views of "important" policies, practices or conditions change over time?	3 Do teachers' and administrators' views of "important" policies, practices or conditions vary from one sort of school setting to another? (e.g., urban/rural; elementary/secondary).	7 What practices are viewed by teachers and administrators to be effective, and for what purposes? What practices do teachers and administrators perceive themselves to be relying on?	8 Do teachers' and administrators' perceptions of good practice change over time? Do teachers' and administrators' perceptions of their own practice change over time?	9 Do teachers' and administrators' perceptions of effective practice vary from one kind of school setting to another? Perceptions of own practice?	13 What opportunities for on-the-job learning do teachers and administrators view as relevant and useful? (What, for whom, with whom, in what manner, when and where, for what purposes and with what perceived consequences?	14 Do teachers' and administrators' perceptions of relevant and useful inservice learning change over time?	15 Do teachers' and administrators' perceptions of relevant and useful inservice learning vary from one kind of school to another?
ved ice	4 What is the observable nature and extent of policies, practices and conditions considered important by teachers and administrators?	5 Do the actual policies, practices and conditions change over time?	6 Do the actual policies, practices and conditions demonstrably vary from one school or district to another?	10 What practices are teachers and administrators observed to use, and with what apparent consequences? What is the practice "repertoire" of successful teachers and administrators?	11 What changes in practice are teachers and administrators observed to make over time?	12 Do observed practices or repertoires vary from one kind of school setting to another (e.g., from desegregated to homogeneous schools?	16 Who actually participates in what on-the-job learning, with whom, when and where, how, for what stated purposes and with what observable consequences?	17 Does the nature and extent of teachers' and administrators' participation in inservice (or any on-the-job learning) change over time?	18 Does the nature and extent of observable on-the-job learning vary from one kind of school setting to another?
ived e ions	19 What role relations are perceived by teachers and administrators to be supported/unsupported in the school(s)? (nature and extent or relations among teachers, between teachers and administrators, students, parents, etc.)	20 Do teachers' and administrators' perceptions of supported and unsupported role relationships change over time? Under what conditions?	21 Do teachers' and administrators' perceptions of supported and unsupported role relationships vary from one kind of school to another? (e.g., uban/rural)	25 What are teachers' and administrators' perceptions of the nature and extent of role relationships they are engaging in?	26 Do teachers' and administrators' perceptions of their role relationships change over time?	27 Do teachers' and administrators' perceptions of present role relationships vary from one kind of school setting to another?	31 What roles do teachers and administrators perceive themselves and others to take in on-the-job learning?	32 Do teachers' and administrators' perceptions of actual and desirable roles in inservice education change over time?	33 Do teachers' and administrators' perceptions of actual and desirable roles in inservice education vary from one kind of school setting to another?
ved e ions	22 What role relationships are observably encouraged or discouraged, and in what ways?	23 Are there observable changes in the nature and extent of supported/unsupported role relationships over time?	24 Are there observable differences in supported/unsupported role relationships from one kind of school to another?	28 What role relationships to teachers and administrators observably enact, and with what apparent consequences?	29 Do the nature and extent of teachers' and administrators' observable role relationships change over time?	30 Do the nature and extent of teachers' and administrators' observable role relationships vary from one kind of school setting to another?	34 What roles do teachers and administrators observably take in on-the-job training? What role(s) do teachers and administrators observably advocate/oppose for teachers and administrators or others in on-the-job learning?	35 Do the roles played by or advocated for teachers and administrators in inservice education change over time?	36 Do the roles played by or advocated for teachers and administrators in inservice education differ demonstrably from one school setting to another?

Attachment C:

A Letter of Invitation to Schools

CENTER FOR ACTION RESEARCH, Incorporated
729 Walnut, Boulder, Colorado 80302

303-443-7977

AN INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE AS PARTNERS IN A STUDY OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND SUCCESSFUL SCHOOLS

Smallwood Elementary School is one of six ______ schools (three elementary, three secondary) invited to participate in a study of staff development and its role in contributing to school success. The study has been approved by _PS, has been funded by the National Institute of Education, and is being conducted by the Center for Action Research, Inc.

We are using this written invitation to address some of the basic questions you may have about the study. We will be glad to address additional questions in person or over the phone.

1. What exactly are you studying?

Our basic curiosity is: under what circumstances, and in what way, can staff development contribute to a school's success? To satisfy our curiosity, we are exploring three questions.

o What are the day-to-day realities experienced by teachers and administrators in schools with diverse student populations?

o What content (focus) in staff development is seen by teachers, administrators and others as relevant and practical?

o What mode or form of staff development activity is likely to make a difference -- to attract participation by schools and individuals and to be translated into practice?

2. What will come out of this?

We are aiming for two benefits: more knowledge and better practice.

o We have worked to make this study collaborative so that it has a good chance of having practical payoffs for everyone involved. We have worked with teachers, principals and district personnel to design the study. We are asking schools and individuals to view themselves as partners rather than as "subjects." We are interested in learning from you, not "studying" you. We think our findings can and will find their way into practice, and encourage you to let us know what kinds of practical results you look for.

o We have worked to design a study that has broad educational significance as well. We will draw upon what we learn by listening, watching and talking in six schools to speculate on the actual and potential shape of staff development in urban schools, to discuss implications for other school districts in comparable circumstances, and to generate hypotheses for more extensive study.

3. What do you want us to do and how much time will it take?

The full study will last one year, but data collection in each participating school will require only about one month. During that one month period, we will ask for the following involvement from each of you:

o Interview time. We need to learn a great deal from you in a relatively short period of time. We will be asking each of you to grant us at least one hour of your time over a one month period for a one-to-one interview, scheduled at your convenience. We plan to tape record our interviews (with your permission), and will provide written assurance of your anonymity and confidentiality. All tapes will be destroyed upon completion of the study.

o Conversation. Apart from the more structured interviews, we look forward to opportunities to talk informally with you as we spend time in the school.

o Observations. We would like to observe any situations in the school -- classes, hallways, playground, cafeteria, etc. -- that will help us understand what Godsman is like. We ask you to help us by giving us your view of what is important for us to look for.

After we have finished with data collection, we will seek two more opportunities to talk with you as a group. (As partners, you can also call on us). We will do some preliminary "sizing up" of the data in the period immediately following our time at Smallwood. In an effort to keep our analysis from being pure flight of fancy, we will return to school in the weeks immediately following data collection to discuss our emerging analysis and to get your observations on it. We will ask for a similar meeting/work session when we are able to report observations drawn from all six schools.

4. Why Smallwood?

We used something like a process of elimination to narrow a long list of schools to six we planned to invite to participate.

First, we distinguished those schools that have been involved in

397

staff development from those with little or no involvement. We wanted to study at least two elementary schools and two secondary schools that have been involved, and one elementary and one secondary school that have not been extensively involved. Smallwood appeared on the list of relatively uninvolved schools.

Second, we distinguished relatively more successful schools from relatively less successful schools based on median achievement scores for 1977 and 1979. (For secondary schools we added dropout and suspension rates.) These are admittedly crude measures of success, but they were readily available on all schools. Smallwood is among the relatively more successful schools, with scores showing marked improvement from 1977 to 1979.

Third, we looked for schools that represented combinations of involvement and success. We excluded any schools that fell in the "low success, low involvement" category. We included schools that fell in these three categories: high success, high involvement; high success, low involvement; and low success, low involvement. (There were no low success, high involvement elementary schools, so we created a new category of moderate success, high involvement for elementary schools). Smallwood falls in the high success, low involvement category.

Finally, having narrowed the list this far, we went to the assistant superintendents for elementary and secondary education and asked them to judge which schools on our list might be interested in joining us as partners in this research. Smallwood emerged as a nomination from that discussion.

We want to emphasize that the decision to participate -- as a school or as individuals -- rests with you. We welcome your interest and your assistance and we look forward to the opportunity to work with you.

Attachment D:

Assistant Superintendent's Memo

PUBLIC SCHOOLS
INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMUNICATION

ATTACHMENT C

To

From ________________, Assistant Superintendent,

Date January 9, 1980

Subject Study by Center for Action Research, Inc.

The ______ Public Schools recently approved a study of the role of staff development in school success, to be conducted in six _______ schools. This study has been funded by the National Institute of Education and is being conducted by the Center for Action Research, Inc. Center staff have worked with Denver teachers, principals and district personnel to design the study, and we expect the findings to prove relevant and useful.

In the next few days, Dr. Judith Little of the Center will contact you to invite your school's participation in this study. We want to stress that the decision to participate rests with you, but we hope you will take the time to discuss the project with Dr. Little.

LWB:lm

pc: Dr. Judith Little

400

Use this sheet to discuss one subject only.

SCHOOL SUCCESS AND STAFF DEVELOPMENT: THE ROLE OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

APPENDIX C:

LITERATURE REVIEW

Judith Warren Little

January 1981

Center for Action Research, Inc.
1125 Spruce Street
Boulder, Colorado

The work upon which this final report is based was performed pursuant to Contract No. 400-79-0049 of the National Institute of Education. It does not, however, necessarily reflect the views of that agency.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I. URBAN AND DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS: A CONTEXT FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT 1

A. SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND EDUCATIONAL EQUITY 5

B. TEACHERS' EXPECTATIONS FOR STUDENT PERFORMANCE 5

C. SCHOOL PRACTICES AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS 10
1. Grouping and Sorting 12
2. Competition and Cooperation 14
3. Extracurricular Activities 15

D. THE WORK SETTING OF DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS 16
1. Expanded Role of the Building Principal 19
2. Teachers' Roles in Desegregated Schools 21

E. THE CONTEXT OF DESEGREGATION: EXTERNAL INFLUENCES 22

II. THE SCHOOL AS A WORKPLACE: STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE 23

A. AN ORGANIZATIONAL PERSPECTIVE 23

B. DESCRIBING THE SCHOOL AS A WORKPLACE 25

C. CONTRIBUTIONS OF ROLE THEORY 30

D. STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND ASPECTS OF SCHOOL RENEWAL 32

III. SELECTED ANNOTATIONS 39

REFERENCES 42

This study of staff development in an urban desegregated school district has been informed by two lines of previous inquiry. First, it continues a line of case study inquiry into the internal life of urban and desegregated schools. And second, it is grounded in the assumptions of organizational theory (specifically role theory applied to organizational settings) and in previous studies of organizational change in schools. The existing literature on staff development has been selectively reviewed from an organizational change perspective.

This review is selective, not exhaustive. In the following discussion, we have stressed those major points in the literature on which the present inquiry builds and to which it contributes.

I. URBAN AND DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS: A CONTEXT FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Prior work on urban and desegregated schools documents a set of organizational conditions and practices to which staff development presumably must be directed if it is to exert influence on success.

Desegregation is a venture in deliberate social change. To speculate on the role of staff development in accomplishing such complex change requires that we have some sense of what shape "genuine integration" (Pettigrew, 1975) might take, what conditions and practices foster it, and what room schools typically make for the on-the-job learning that would enable teachers and administrators to accomplish it. In that regard, the principal contribution to the desegregation literature in the past five years has been the (slowly) increasing attention to the internal life of desegregated schools.

In the flurry of research activity to uncover the effects of desegregation, scant attention has been paid to the day-to-day interactions and the routine--but nonetheless consequential--social arrangements that shape those effects, make them interpretable, and set boundaries on practical action.

The focus on outcomes--and particularly academic achievement outcomes--was politically understandable, but probably misleading or inappropriate on at least three grounds:

(1) Such meagre evidence as we have suggests that teachers and administrators in the early stages of a desegregation plan are less occupied with issues of instruction and achievement than with issues of order, discipline, and simply getting through the day.

(2) Desegregation plans themselves can create sufficient discontinuity in the lives of students and teachers over a period

of several years as to make any stable achievement remarkable. (In the district where the present study took place, for example, the initial paired-schools plan called for groups of students to switch schools for half a day every day for nine weeks, at the end of which time the membership in the groups would rotate. In this light, the fact that the studies reviewed by St. John (1975) showed positive results more often than negative may be something just short of miraculous.

(3) Many studies measure effects in the first year of desegregation, a period of time both too short and too soon to permit such effects to emerge.

Further, Schofield (1979) argues that "desegregation" has been treated in the research literature as a dichotomous nominal variable (schools are either desegregated or they are not) in ways that stand for--and mask--considerable variation in contexts, conditions, organizational arrangements, attitudes, and patterns of interaction. In an article criticizing the minimal role of research in the practical accomplishment of desegregation, Robert Crain (1976, p. 43) observes that competent case studies would make a useful contribution to knowledge and practice, but that they are rarely funded. In a comprehensive review of the literature published by NIE the same year, Riffel et al. (1976) observe that much of the available literature ignores the qualitative processes operating in schools, and that such works as are available tend to be short-term observations of recently desegregated schools. Rist (1979) similarly remarks that "The very large majority of studies have not been grounded in the analysis of the day-to-day working out of school desegregation." Schofield and Sagar comment that little attention is given to the social experiences of children in interracial schools (1979, p. 155). Sullivan (1979, p. 240) comments that "we know very little about how schools are organized as social systems" and specifically advises that researchers examine the role that the schools play in "producing, aggravating, or reducing racial and ethnic tensions."

In selecting from among the large corpus of desegregation literature, we applied three criteria:

(1) We gave preference to those studies that were based on or included some direct observation in desegregated schools, with the understanding that such studies would offer us the best command over the nature and dynamics of the work situation to which staff development is presumably addressed.

(2) We have looked for consistency with relevant theoretical perspectives. Schofield (1979) has complained rightfully that much of the desegregation literature is atheoretical, making interpretation of findings problematic and reconciliation of apparently conflicting findings almost impossible. We have relied on two related and complementary theoretical orientations to give

404

focus to our review of current literature, providing the grounds for judging the relevance of specific empirical observations. Bonding theory (Hirschi, 1969) argues that persons who have opportunities to develop and demonstrate competence, to gain access to socially desirable roles, to be seen by themselves and others as useful, belonging and influential, are most likely to establish bonds to conventional social institutions (like school), more likely to succeed, less likely to drop out or to engage in troublesome behavior. This theoretical perspective has been most frequently applied to studies of delinquency and school dropout (Elliott and Voss, 1974), but assumes relevance here for its specific focus on social arrangements or patterns of interaction that sustain or erode commitment to school. (In light of the consistently higher incidence of dropout, suspension, and expulsion for minority students in city schools, this perspective appears particularly relevant to questions of equity.)

The most frequently invoked theoretical orientation in the desegregation literature derives from Allport's (1954) arguments about the conditions of intergroup contact under which group stereotypes might be eroded and cross-group prejudice reduced.[1] The argument is straightforward: group stereotypes are most likely to be broken down where groups meet under conditions of equal status. Contact under conditions of unequal status is expected to sustain or increase group stereotypes and unfavorable intergroup relations. Contact theory leads us to examine those situations in and out of classrooms that foster cooperative interdependence, and those that inhibit it.

Contact theory has remained relatively untested in desegregated settings, though studies cited by Schofield (1978) all reportedly confirm the theoretical premises. In the absence of more widespread testing, we have relied on inference from the theory to speculate on those reported aspects of school life that on their face can be said to govern the nature and extent of intergroup contact (e.g., curriculum placement and ability grouping, access to and participation in extracurricular activities, frequency of group/team work as a mode of instruction.) Without more extensive empirical evidence, however, we have no way of weighing the relative influence of particular arrangements. There may be merit to the argument that conditions of intergroup contact are most salient in arenas most central to the academic and social life of the school (e.g., classrooms, athletics).

Contact/equal status theory represents (for these purposes) a theoretical gain over bonding theory in focusing on the roles enacted by *groups* in schools and by accommodating the existence of group boundaries that are relevant by virtue of ascribed characteristics of race or ethnicity, sex, family income level, and the like. A theory of status characteristics and expectations developed by Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch (1972) suggests that conditions of intergroup contact in schools must further account for group-based expectations for competence that prevail in the broader society and that influence any instances of structured intergroup interaction.

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[1] Schofield (1979) argues that this orientation has been more often invoked than it has been systematically used to guide the design, analysis, and presentation of findings in desegregation studies.

(3) We have sought to distinguish those conditions, arrangements, policies and practices, interactions and interpretations that are peculiarly characteristic of urban desegregated schools. Rist (1978) has noted that any school has its problems, and that informative case studies in desegregation muse properly delineate the conditions and consequences of desegregation from other matters. In some cases, problems that are routinely encountered by any school (e.g., questions of student placement, appropriate modes of classroom instruction, disciplinary practices) are altered or exacerbated by the particular circumstances of desegregation. The best of the field studies illustrate the ways that desegregation shapes and reshapes ordinary school life.

Nonetheless, we have also looked to other literature on urban schools and school effects generally to confirm or qualify our focus on particular practices. While the circumstances of desegregation may alter the salience of particular practices--making them weigh more or less heavily than they would in other circumstances--the desegregation research alone provides an inadequate base (on its own) for isolating critical dimensions of school life that bear on equity. For example, field studies have typically noted the way in which curriculum tracking and ability grouping serve to restrict opportunities for intergroup interaction and virtually assure lower group status for minority students. There is some evidence that such strategies may be "resegregative" (NIE, 1977), affecting the level of intergroup interaction and affecting interracial attitudes. A search of other literature reveals that curriculum tracking (independent of other group or individual characteristics such as race, measured IQ, income level, and past school history) accounts for differential rates of dropout, involvement in troublesome behavior in school, and probability of officially recorded delinquent behavior out of school (Polk and Schafer, 1972). To the extent that minority students are disproportionately represented in lower status curriculum placement, they may also be disproportionately at risk.

Finally, we have sought evidence of the ways in which issues, concerns, norms of interaction and interpretation, and so forth change over the course of desegregation. While no field studies have extended over the period we have come to believe brings a measure of stabilization (five to ten years), some studies have given sufficient evidence of emerging senses of desegregation to counter any argument that the work is completed when students and teachers have been moved.

A. SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND EDUCATIONAL EQUITY

The premises of bonding theory, contact theory, and status/expectancy theory lead us to look for those organizational structures and patterns of interaction that expand or limit opportunities for intergroup interaction and opportunities to gain, demonstrate, and be rewarded for competence. That is, we focus here on features of school life that sustain or erode commitment to schooling, that influence educational equity, and that might serve as direct or indirect targets of staff development. In this light, we have no evidence that the existence of some arrangements, e.g., a nominal authority structure (principal, assistant principals, counselors, teachers, etc.), have any bearing on the distribution of opportunity for groups of students. There is evidence, however, that other bureaucratic arrangements may erode or limit opportunities for some groups of students and may thereby contribute to increased tension, alienation, failure, and troublesome behavior.

At issue appear to be policies and practices of curriculum placement, teachers' expectations for student performance, testing and grading, differential treatment within the classroom, disciplinary practices, curriculum, and materials. All are features of ordinary school life that affect the life chances of students and that are, on the evidence, affected by desegregation.

B. TEACHERS' EXPECTATIONS FOR STUDENT PERFORMANCE

The evidence is persuasive that teachers' expectations influence student performance.[1] In a recent and methodologically rigorous study of urban schools in Britain, Rutter et al. (1979) found that schools where teachers held high expectations for student performance demonstrated higher achievement and experienced fewer disciplinary problems; the effects were independent of student population characteristics. [Two of the schools where teachers had the lowest expectations were schools in which students' measured ability at time of enrollment placed them among the top third; schools in which students at time of enrollment exhibited less ability were staffed by teachers whose expectations were high and whose expectations (together with other influences) bore fruit over time. Thus, it appears that teachers' expectations cannot be written off as the "accurate" judgments that teachers form about the prospects for and abilities of students in city schools.] We found no studies of American desegregated schools or urban schools that approached that of Rutter et al. (1979) in theoretical coherence or methodological rigor. Nonetheless, some of the qualitative and descriptive materials confirm that teachers' expectations merit closer scrutiny (Rist, 1978). Leacock's (1969) portrayal of lower- and middle-class urban elementary schools gives a convincing account of differences in teacher expectations that are matched by differences in student behavior.

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[1] The classic example here, and the subject of considerable argument, is Rosenthal and Jacobson's *Pygmalion in the Classroom.* The findings of that study lost some of their force when subsequent efforts at replication failed to produce significant effects. In light of recent research that taps naturally occurring expectations and their relationship to performance over time (Rutter et al., 1979), however, Rosenbaum's (1976) explanation for the failure of replication attempts following Rosenthal and Jacobson assumes greater weight. Rosenbaum argues that the force of experimentally induced expectations depends on two crucial research accomplishments: first, researchers must in fact be persuasive in conveying the grounds for the expectations in the first place. There is some evidence that in some instances, teachers simply did not believe researchers' accounts of students' prospects. Second, the expectations must have organizational relevance; they must, in the ordinary course of a teacher's work, reflect arenas that teachers believe are central and over which they believe they could reasonably have influence. Rosenbaum argues that other studies have failed in this regard.

Expectations for performance are powerful. They also vary in their nature, direction, and intensity. On the evidence, teachers' expectations are typically lower for some groups of students than others. They are lower for blacks than for whites (Rist, 1978; Noblit, 1979). And they are lower for low-income students than for students of middle-class families (Leacock, 1969). To the extent that desegregation mixes schools both socioeconomically and racially, one might expect that teachers' expectations are disrupted and altered,[1] and that differential expectations are brought more forcefully into play (and into sight) than they might have been in more homogeneous settings.

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[1] Teachers' expectations for black students' behavior and achievements appear, in the early stages of desegregation, often uncertain, ambiguous, and ambivalent. Metz (1978) comments that teachers in two desegregated junior highs were prone to handling "trivial" disciplinary incidents in ways that escalated them to the status of "principled conflicts," with students' expectations about fairness and appropriateness at issue. Noblit (1979) reports that differential treatment of blacks' and whites' disciplinary infractions added to teachers' dissatisfaction in a desegregated high school. Rist (1978) observed how teachers based their expectations for academic performance on young students' classroom behavior in the first few days of class, "writing off" academic achievement for those black students who were early discipline problems.

The descriptive accounts of American urban schools typically document the differences in teachers' expectations from school to school, class to class, and group to group (Ogbu, 1974; Leacock, 1969; Rist, 1970). Such accounts are less informative about the demonstrable *effects* of such disparate expectations. We do have some evidence, however, that teachers' expectations are perceived by students. The subtle differences in "waiting time" accorded by teachers to slow versus advanced students during question and answer periods (Good and Brophy, 1978) do not go unnoticed or uninterpreted by students (Rosenbaum, 1976). Similarly, teachers' views of students appear to affect students' relationships with one another. For example, the relationship between academic performance and students' social standing appears to be strongly mediated by teachers' views of and interaction with students. Leacock (1969) observed that students' ratings of most popular and least popular students accorded with teachers' views of those same students but did not fall neatly into a "good student = popular student" mold. In middle-income classes (white and black), teachers tended to view most favorably those students who performed best academically, and these views were reflected in students' preferred friendship choices. In low-income schools, on the other hand, teachers made derogatory comments about students who demonstrated high ability, presumably in violation of expectations for what they "should" be able to accomplish.[1] Again, these views were reflected in students' ratings of each other's popularity; good readers in these classes were less popular. Leacock draws a parallel between these findings and those of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), who found that teachers were negatively disposed toward students who progressed rapidly when they weren't expected to. Leacock found that teachers in semi-structured interviews revealed markedly different expectations for both learning and behavior for students in middle-income versus low-income classes. Her evidence and that of others (Rist, 1978; Hargreaves, 1967; Williams, 1976; Ogbu, 1974) point to the influence of teachers' expectations on the formal assignment of students to groups, the certification of performance through grades, the amount of instruction time spent, and even seating arrangements.

Teachers' expectations have social power when they are widely shared, widely enacted, supported by a variety of routine organizational arrangements and established patterns of interaction, and defended (as "reasonable") in interactions with outsiders. Specific classroom tactics may assume different relevance and exert different influence from one school to another precisely because of differences in the degree to which norms (expectations) are uniformly and tenaciously held, supported by all manner of large and small organizational structures and routine interactions.

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[1] This finding accords with Rosenthal and Jacobson's (1968) finding that teachers are less favorably disposed toward students who perform capably in violation of prevailing expectations.

Teachers' expectations are conveyed by specific forms of interaction and interpretation in and out of classrooms; these patterns of interaction and interpretation can be argued to establish and sustain a social setting that promotes or proscribes intergroup contact, that enhances or limits opportunities for equal status, and that builds or erodes commitment to (bonds with) schooling.

First, teachers make visible and public their expectations for student performance by the way they talk about students to others. Rosenbaum (1976) records several instances on which teachers characterized entire classes or specific individuals in derogatory terms in the presence of those classes or individuals. Rosenbaum's research was conducted in a relatively homogeneous school (with respect to role and social class). Nonetheless, his findings assume certain relevance for urban desegregated schools where low-income and minority students are disproportionately represented in low curriculum tracks and, by inference from Rosenbaum, disproportionately subject to such treatment. [Some recent field studies of desegregated schools suggest that talk by or among teachers about students may take a form peculiarly reflective of desegregated settings. Clement, Eisenhart, and Harding (1979) describe a norm for suppressing race terms and racial distinctions that has led teachers to couch their descriptions, explanations, and criticisms in social class terms.]

Teachers convey expectations by practices of differentiation in the classroom. Teachers whose grouping practices serve to make a status order clear (Rist, 1978; Schofield and Sagar, 1979) may foster poor performance and troublesome behavior among members of the less valued groups. Cross-group friendships and adequate performance seem more likely where instruction and feedback about academic progress are not overtly tied to social standing, i.e., where academic accomplishment is not the major principle of social organization (Rist, 1978; Slavin, 1979).

Differential expectations for performance are conveyed and confirmed by practices that distinguish time and treatment of curriculum for high and low groups or classes. Ogbu (1974) and Leacock (1969) found systematic differences in instructional practices that differentially encouraged application, aspiration, and the preservation of high standards of accomplishment--a "norm of achievement." (See also Hargreaves, 1967.) Tracing the proportion of time spent on curriculum-oriented talk in the classroom, Leacock (1969) speculated that low-income students' increasing apathy as they progressed through the grades might be a function of the minimal content and stimulus to which they were asked to respond. Along the same lines, Leacock observed that teachers more frequently assigned to low-income classes routine written work such as copying from the board or workbook exercises. Teachers in some desegregated schools report assigning less homework (Scherer and Slawski, 1979), while the routine assignment and checking of homework has been found in other work (Rutter et al., 1979) to be a distinguishing mark of more successful schools; the practice apparently conveys to students teachers' expectations for achievement.

Similarly, teachers convey their expectations by the nature and distribution of praise and criticism. Metz (1978), Ogbu (1974), and Leacock (1969) have traced the differential use of sanctions for high or low groups or classes. Students of whom teachers hold high expectations are sanctioned for failures to perform academically; students of whom teachers hold low expectations are less often sanctioned with respect to academic work, and more often sanctioned on behavioral grounds.[1] Ogbu (1974) reports that low-income students routinely were awarded C's and D's for their work, regardless of how much or how little effort they made; teachers' written notes in students' files that registered evidence of progress were unmatched by comparable improvements in assigned grades. Rutter et al. (1979) found that the pattern of informal praise and criticism in the classroom was decisive in distinguishing successful from unsuccessful schools. In his study of a desegregated elementary school, however, Rist (1978) found teachers directing exaggerated praise ("bending over backwards") to black students; he predicts that the consistent use of this practice over time will reinforce group distinctions and group boundaries.[2]

And finally, teachers may convey expectations by the behavior that they themselves display or "model" with respect to preparation, achievement, and intergroup relations. Clement, Eisenhart, and Harding (1979) depict social relationships in a southern desegregated school that remain largely segregated and marked by a carefully preserved "polite cooperation" among students. Teachers' interracial relationships are similarly characterized; teachers may exchange materials or occasional remarks about matters of shared professional interest, but do not sit together in faculty meetings, see one another socially, or in other ways act as close colleagues or friends. With respect to classroom "models," Leacock's work (1969) displays the ways in which teachers discouraged persistent and aggressive attention to academic achievement by the haphazard way they designed and conducted classroom lessons. By contrast, Rutter et al. (1979) found that teachers in more successful schools built a norm of achievement in part by the way that they demonstrated day after day that they were prepared and that they expected academic work to occupy the entire class period. In light of this finding, some practices documented in American urban and desegregated schools are suspect: Metz (1978) describes practices by which teachers "bargain" with students in low-track classes by agreeing to award free time in exchange for a certain degree of attention for part of the class period. [One might ask, although Metz does not, whether such "bargaining" practices socialize students--particularly minority students who are represented in large numbers in low classes--to norms of classroom interaction that (quite apart from "ability") make it difficult for them to succeed in more advanced classes where the norms of interaction are markedly different. Metz does note that black students in the more advanced classes are more frequently the subjects of disciplinary referrals from those classes. On the other hand, Metz's findings also show that teachers who employed some "bargaining" achieved some modest gains in the amount of work accomplished in a class period. Typically, students in "bargained" classes worked for a greater porportion of the class time than did the students of teachers who pushed (without bargaining) for a full class period of work but who were continually distracted by student disruptions. The latter group of teachers in effect used up resources for control on matters of behavior, not academic performance.]

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[1] Metz (1978) finds that the pattern of "principles conflicts" reflects students' differential expectations for teachers' performance as well, suggesting that expectations are reflected in and confirmed by teacher-student interactions over long periods of time and that changes in interaction and expectations will require more than simply persuading teachers that other expectations might be desirable and appropriate. Students in high classes challenge teachers' actions and judge their competence on academic grounds. Students in low classes were more likely to challenge teachers' fairness or consistency in handling disciplinary matters, and to judge competence on the basis of skillful classroom management.

[2] Rist's description of faculty inservices in the same volume includes no reference of any systematic attempt to equip teachers to "see" these and other practices, and to understand or to look for their possible effects.

The evidence in the literature is thus mixed with respect to the tactical worth of such classroom management techniques, and virtually nonexistent with respect to long-term consequences for individual achievement or group equity. What evidence there is, however, suggests that such practices deserve closer scrutiny from researchers and that they carry implications for the design of staff development in desegregated districts.

C. SCHOOL PRACTICES AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

As a matter of practice, legal compliance, and research design, persons are likely to consider desegregation accomplished with the movement of bodies. Schofield and Sagar (1979) cite Webster (1961) as proposing that "equal status" among groups was accomplished when black and white students occupied the "same" role of student in the same school. The nominal classification of student, however, appears insufficiently precise to capture the array of status resources which students and teachers tap to distinguish winners from losers, those who have influence from those who do not. As an empirical matter, there is substantial variation in the extent to which members of different groups form friendships with one another, occupy classrooms together, participate in extracurricular activities together, and share proportionately in the awards and honors controlled by the school (Collins, 1979; Noblit, 1979; Scherer and Slawski, 1979; Schofield and Sagar, 1979; Slavin, 1979; Rist, 1978; Cohen, 1975; Leacock, 1969). That is, there is good reason to doubt that the desegregation of school facilities alone produces integration of groups. Literature on relations among ethnic groups offers comparable evidence that contact among groups is insufficient to erode group boundaries where social processes of boundary maintenance remain untouched (Barth, 1969). Allport (1954) theorized that prejudice grounded in stereotypes would be undiminished where conditions of unequal status were sustained (see also Schofield, 1979 and Rist, 1978). Insofar as researchers or school personnel take seriously improved intergroup relations as a criterion of "genuine integration," it appears that the conditions and practices for achieving equal status are centrally at issue; such conditions necessarily include teachers' definitions of the appropriate dimensions of their role.[1]

A central question here is: By what routine practices do teachers appear to influence the social standing and social relationships of students? Three arenas of practice are placed at issue by the current literature: practices of grouping and differentiation for purposes of instruction, practices that foster cooperation or competition, and practices by which students' participation in extracurricular activities is influenced or regulated.

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[1] Metz (1978) and Schofield and Sagar (1979) find that teachers do not necessarily consider it part of their job to influence intergroup relations among students. Where intergroup relations are included as goal priorities of a district or school, teachers (especially in secondary schools) continue to weigh academic aims most heavily. These findings suggest that one task of staff development may be to make clear the evidence that teachers do influence students' peer relationships, whether or not by design, and that students' intergroup and interpersonal relationships in turn appear to affect their classroom performance (Schofield and Sagar, 1979).

1. Grouping and Sorting

Curriculum tracks, ability groups, and special classes that are nominally distinguished by their curriculum content (e.g., algebra and basic math) are also distinguished by their social status (high and low), the opportunities they present to students, and the labels that are formally and informally attached to students. While the evidence on the relationship between sorting practices and cognitive learning is ambiguous and contradictory (Hurn, 1978; Jencks, 1972), recent research on the *social* dimensions and consequences of sorting appears more consistent.

The social meaning of track or group assignment appears to be conveyed in the day-to-day experiences of going to school. Differential assignments to groups or tracks entails differential support of students' present standing and future prospects. Polk and Schafer (1972) show that students assigned to "low" tracks are less likely to be involved in extracurricular activities and are generally more marginal members of the school. Rosenbaum (1976) studied the formal tracking system in a single relatively homogeneous school and showed that students in lower tracks were awarded fewer material resources, had less access to prestigious extracurricular activities, and were subject to more derogatory comments by teachers and guidance staff. Despite high aspirations for future education or work, students in low tracks have been less rigorously informed about the curriculum requirements, application procedures, testing requirements, and the like that mark the path to college (Cicourel and Kitsuse, 1963; Ogbu, 1974). Obgu (1974) documents how low-income students are encouraged to adopt low standards of accomplishment as "average work" by receiving the same grade (generally C's and D's) no matter how little or how much work is attempted. Hargreaves (1967) reports that different norms for performance (in class and in assigned homework) mark high and low streams in a British secondary school; students in the low track were permitted or encouraged to adopt a norm for minimal performance. As students continued to act in accordance with that norm, they built and confirmed a general school view of themselves as less able, less interested and less committed.

Discussions of sorting and grouping practices immediately bear upon educational equity (NIE, 1977, p. 30). Low-income and minority students are disproportionately represented in low ability groups or tracks (Metz, 1978; Cicourel and Kitsuse, 1973; Polk and Schafer, 1972). In some cases, track assignment has been made independent of such background characteristics as tested IQ and previous grade averages (Polk and Schafer, 1972; Rist, 1970) or stated aspirations (Cicourel and Kitsuse, 1973). Some artifacts of race, class and ethnicity apparently make some students particularly subject to the sorting practices described. Differences in dress, manners, speech, and surnames may contribute to judgments about appropriate group or track placement in ways that are neither sanctioned by school policy nor consciously articulated by school personnel (Leiter, 1976; Seligman, Tucker, and Lambert, 1972). Low-income and minority students are thus disproportionately subject to practices of school organization that place them at risk--at risk of troublesome behavior and thus exclusion from school, and at risk of academic failure. Such evidence confirms the claim of Schofield and Sagar (1979) that "the social cost of teaching seems high."

Further, given the apparent association between academic and social standing, concentration of minority students in low groups or tracks creates a situation in which low-income or minority students as a *group* have lower status than other groups in a class or in the school. Schofield and Sagar (1979) argue that homogeneous grouping prevents interaction and emphasizes status differences. Sullivan (1979), by shadowing students through a school day and by interviewing them about their peer relationships, found that peer associations were determined in large part by curriculum placement.

In an elementary school, Rist (1978) found that grouping practices in individual first grade classrooms introduced and sustained group boundaries; by writing the names of reading group members on the board and by seating all members of a group together, teachers in some classrooms effectively tied the social organization of the classroom to students' demonstrated competence in a single cognitive skill: reading. In these classrooms, children drew their friends principally from within their own reading group; since black children tended to cluster in the lower groups, their interactions with white children were effectively limited. (By contrast, social and racial boundaries were more fluid in the one first grade classroom where reading group membership was not publicly displayed, was not emphasized in seating patterns, and was not used as the basis for grouping in all other classroom activities. In that classroom, children chose friends more freely across groups.

One consequence of such group-related classification and selection practices is likely to be an apparent propensity toward troublesome behavior on the part of minority students. A second may be occurrences of intergroup conflict ranging from exclusive friendship choices to fights.

In sum, to the degree that school-controlled sorting (at least nominally based on academic performance) is a principle of social organization in a classroom or school, some students' opportunities to belong, to demonstrate worth and competence, and to develop a stake in learning and approved behavior may be systematically eroded.

2. Competition and Cooperation

Mere contact and physical copresence have not been sufficient to erode long-standing social boundaries between groups (Barth, 1969; Wolff, 1959) or to alter established status relationships. Useem (1976) found that mere contact in classrooms was not associated with an increase in positive interracial attitudes. Recent research in desegregated schools suggests that specific conditions of competition or cooperation can retard or advance the aims of integration. Competition, it appears, aggravates existing conditions of unequal status (Cohen, 1975). Further, where status derives almost exclusively from public recognition of academic performance, whites in newly desegregated schools are "almost always ahead" (Schofield and Sagar, 1979, p. 171). Schofield and Sagar cite Sherif et al. (1961), who found that school-based competition led to stereotyping and hostility between groups.

Some routine classroom practices foster competition among students. Schofield and Sagar (1979) describe how the practice of reading grades aloud in class promotes competition, adds to group divisiveness (when minority students are disproportionately represented among those with low grades), and reinforces negative stereotypes. Traditional instructional tactics, they say, make the successes and failures of individuals publicly visible on a moment-to-moment basis (e.g., responses to drill) and make rates and skills of participation particularly evident (Schofield and Sagar, 1979, p. 189). Rist (1978) describes drill techniques that place a premium on quick answers (and that frequently offer only one chance to be correct); such techniques offer no reward to students who are not already skilled in quick exchange, and tend to relegate those "not in the know" to the position of spectator. Some students more than others, claims Rist, are regularly in that position.

Cooperative work, on the other hand, appears to ameliorate and eventually alter unequal status relations. Slavin (1979b) conducted a secondary analysis of data from fifty-one desegregated high schools collected by the Educational Testing Service in 1974; he found that the practice of assigning students to work with a student of another race on a school project or assignment was the single measured school practice that was associated with positive gains in interracial attitudes and intergroup relationships. Those tactics upon which schools typically relied to foster group belonging and intergroup harmony (e.g., biracial advisory committees) may have carried a certain "symbolic" weight, but proved ineffective in altering group relations. Slavin's finding is consistent with Cook's (1969) elaboration of Allport's (1954) basic argument. Schools in which biracial contact was actively encouraged and supported by routine classroom and schoolwide practices had positive relationships across groups (including more cross-group friendships). Those schools where such shared, cooperative work and contact was not actively encouraged and strategically supported remained largely segregated.

Similarly, Schofield and Sagar (1979) report that research on intergroup relations shows the importance of cooperative interdependence. Scherer and Slawski (1979, p. 147) say: "Biracial contacts increase when students have a common task to perform." They observed that intergroup association increased when students shared not only time and space (e.g., common class schedules), but also common activities. (The authors use as their principal example the practice of black and white students in high classes working cooperatively on assignments. Because the example is specific to advanced classes, it remains uncertain whether the practice reflects changing norms of interaction among groups at large in the school, or whether it marks the particular norms of interaction characteristic of the high-track classes. If the latter is the case, one might ask whether curriculum tracking is accompanied by differentially distributed opportunities for shared work.)

On the evidence, teachers can promote or proscribe students' cooperative work by the way they design and conduct classroom instruction. Schofield and Sagar (1979, p. 187) describe some of the ways in which teachers affect student interaction by their arrangement of classroom furniture, by their manipulation of seating patterns, and by their rules for in-class movement. Group cooperative work, while by most accounts the rarest teaching approach, often requires cooperation and interaction that is not accomplished by other instructional methods. Schofield and Sagar (1979) witnessed only fifteen instances of group work involving more than two students in three years of observation in a desegregated high school. Most traditional classroom approaches inhibit even occasional, two-person cooperation; student-to-student interaction is often disapproved even when talk is demonstrably task-oriented (MacDonald, 1971; Schofield and Sagar, 1979).

Slavin (1978) summarizes the research on cooperative learning techniques, observing that effects on group cohesiveness and intergroup relations have been positive and enduring. Effects on achievement are also generally positive, though they are somewhat more mixed and apparently dependent on particular combinations of topic, setting, and technique. In light of the apparent power of the cooperative learning practices to foster intergroup relationships without sacrificing standards of academic performance, these findings have implications for training teachers to recognize promising occasions and circumstances for cooperative work, and to design and facilitate it.

3. Extracurricular Activities

Observers of desegregated schools describe an emergent distribution of "territory" that includes selective participation in extracurricular activities (Noblit, 1979; Collins, 1979). The differential distribution of valued activities (athletics, class offices, publications, council positions) is, by most arguments in the literature, reflective of unequal status that is sustained in large part through student manipulation. For example, when black students took over an activity (football and basketball teams) in one desegregated high school, white students "redefined" them as less important activities and abandoned their competition for positions (Collins, 1979, pp. 104-5). Less visible in the literature, but of central importance as an issue of staff development, is the actual or potential role of teachers or administrators in influencing or regulating student participation. More broadly, this is an issue of teachers' and administrators' role obligations for promoting intergroup contact. Polk and Schafer (1972) found that students in low curriculum tracks (who were also disproportionately black and of low income) were less often and less vigorously recruited by teachers for participation in extracurricular activities; in part, this was a function of simple opportunity for contact since the teachers who most often sponsored those activities also taught advanced classes. Eligibility requirements (grade point, attendance) for extracurricular participation may similarly discourage or restrict minority students' participation in such activities.

As the case study literature has increasingly added depth and detail to our view of the internal life of desegregated schools, it has also pointed to specific, recurrent, routine policies, practices, and structures that contribute to or confound the aims of integration; in large part, these are practices, policies, and structures over which school personnel exercise some control and which could conceivably form the curriculum of a staff development program. Under these circumstances, it appears that careful descriptive studies might be warranted to document the nature and role (if any) of staff development in assisting school personnel to identify those features of the school setting that bear upon achievement and behavior for a range of groups, and in assisting school personnel to manage the rapid shifts to more heterogeneous settings. By converting previous findings to an agenda for staff development, however, we are faced with asking how much is known about the desegregated school as a *workplace*. By contrast to the emerging curiosity about teacher-student relations and student-student relations in desegregated schools, there appears to be little attention given to depicting work in these schools from a teacher's or principal's point of view, or to tracing changes in teachers' and administrators' collegial practices and relationships in ways that support integration.

D. THE WORK SETTING OF DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

The social arrangements and patterns of interaction that appear to influence achievement, intergroup relations, and interracial attitudes are matters of social organization;[1] while they may be so enduring and so firmly established to be taken for granted as "the way things are," they are nonetheless the product of the small, cumulative interactions of day-to-day life. The effects of desegregation are measured on children, but the conditions of school desegregation very much flow from the school as a work situation in which adult roles are central.

Descriptions of desegregated urban schools as *work* situations are rare indeed, but those that are available suggest:

(1) The norms of interaction and interpretation enacted and sanctioned by administrators and teachers are apparent to students and are influential in creating a setting for student group interaction.

(2) Desegregation may place demands on principals and teachers to alter and expand roles in ways that they are rarely equipped to analyze and rarely assisted to manage.

Desegregation constitutes a massive organizational change. While nominal bureaucratic structures may remain relatively untouched, the nature of role expectations, evaluation of role performance, appropriate role repertoire, and the like may change considerably. Yet there is a marked absence of attention to the effects of desegregation on the school as a social organization (Rist, 1979; Crain, 1976). Further, case studies of desegregated schools suggest that the conditions that bear upon equity, upon improved social relations among groups, and upon gains in achievement for minority groups in heterogeneous settings call for practices that might be seen by teachers and administrators as departures from conventional (and approved) arrangements (Slavin, 1979).

Writing about the conditions for successful curriculum reform, Fullan and Pomfret (1977) observe that changes in role definition and role relationships are at once the most critical to success, the most difficult to understand and accomplish, and the least often addressed in programs of implementation or assistance.

In the absence of a conceptual and analytic framework of the sort provided by role theory, characterizations of potential role changes are often naive and imprecise, offering little ground for judging the worth and relevance of recommendations. Smith et al.

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[1] The individual or psychological perspective which prevails in much of the research literature in education (Sarason, 1971) also prevails, not surprisingly, in schools, and is supported by norms supporting discussion of individuals while proscribing discussion of broader educational, organizational, and strategic issues (Metz, 1978).

(1973, pp. 150, 154) advise principals to establish "new types of supervisory arrangements," and to "take an active role in the support and reinforcement of new teaching techniques and curriculum methods." Such advice assumes:

(1) that "supervision" and "support" are normative equivalents or complements,

(2) that the principal's enactment of a resource person role is viewed with approval by other administrators and by teachers,

(3) that the principal is knowledgeable about teaching techniques and curriculum methods currently in use in the building,

(4) that the principal is knowledgeable about potentially useful new teaching techniques and curriculum methods, and

(5) that "active" support takes sufficient account of other (time-consuming) obligations central to the principal's role.

Description of desegregated settings in terms consistent with the theoretical and analytical rigor of role theory are sufficiently rare as to offer only occasional glimpses and illustrations of the way in which norms enacted, sanctioned, defended by principals or teachers influence the course of and nature of desegregation in any one building. Advice is rendered at a level of abstraction too broad to serve as practical guidance. Principals are advised to increase their accessibility to teachers in matters of discipline, and to parents for resolution of complaints and conflicts. Teachers are advised to work for "fairness and consistency" in classroom treatment, and to redesign course topics and materials to insure relevance for all groups.

Judging by the sparse treatment of these role enactments in the literature, however, it is quite likely that personnel who are favorably disposed to desegregation, i.e., have "positive" attitudes, are nonetheless unclear about how to proceed in classrooms, how to interpret events, how to select appropriate materials or modify course design, how to distinguish an ordinary fight from an "incident."

In addition, descriptions of the work setting in desegregated schools--where they exist at all--tend to concentrate on negotiating the first stages of change and on resolving matters of crisis (e.g., responding to competing interests and demands of groups of parents) (Smith et al., 1973). In the absence of longitudinal descriptive case studies of desegregated districts over a period of five to ten years, there is little basis on which to understand and accommodate the emerging and changing role requirements (and training requirements) of teachers and administrators. The relative inattention to the desegregated school as a workplace is rendered more critical in light of the very limited, but persuasive, evidence that the conduct of work relationships between teachers and between teachers and principal bear upon persons' receptivity to and interactions with members of diverse groups (Noblit, 1979; Metz, 1978).

1. Expanded Role of the Building Principal

The role of the principal is demonstrably altered and expanded by desegregation, placing greater demands on principals' competence and confidence as an agent of change. Such changes entail shifts in norms of interaction with teachers, students, and parents and require rethinking priorities in the allocation of time and other resources (Smith et al., 1973). Noblit (1979, p.67) bills the principal's job in desegregation as "a massive task." Rist (1978), while warning persons against placing too much weight on a "great man" theory, observes that extensive demands are placed on the principal to adopt a stance of change agent, mediator, and facilitator--role performances rarely called for under "normal circumstances."[1] St. John (1975, p. 98) emphasizes the importance of "administrative sanction" to the smooth progress of desegregation. Nonetheless, the change agent role required by desegregation is one for which principals are rarely recruited, for which they are typically untrained, and in which they are usually unpracticed (Goodlad, 1975; Sarason, 1971).

With desegregation, principals may be asked to do more at precisely the time that their latitude for innovative action is restricted, as other groups struggle to gain control and influence during times of uncertainty and ambiguity (e.g., through tightly defined teachers' contracts).[2] Smith (1973, pp. 107-8) properly observes that desegregation is unlikely to produce changes in the priorities of principals without district sanction for a changed view and structural support for changed behavior (e.g., changes in paperwork demands and meeting schedules). Yet Metz (1978) illustrates the ways in which district personnel may inevitably give mixed messages to principals by virtue of the district's own position "in the middle" between the community and the individual buildings.

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[1] Wolcott (1973) and others have characterized the principal as the "man in the middle," juggling diverse and often competing expectations levied by the district, the community, students, and staff. Agreement in expectations, requirements, and demands cannot be assumed either within or between any of these larger groups (Gross, Mason, and McEachern, 1958). Under conditions of massive, relatively rapid, and often imposed change, the strain on the principal's role is predictably greater.

[2] The more unorganized the other influences (e.g., isolated teachers, small population of minority students or minority staff, unorganized parents, diffuse or unclear district goals), the more central the principal may become in defining the situation. Where there is a strong and organized competing influence [like the "old guard" teachers or the honors students in Noblit's (1979) account], the influence of the principal may be correspondingly less.

Compounding the difficulty is the fact that the existing literature offers little guidance in establishing precisely what might be meant by a "change agent" role in desegregation. In some respects, and by some descriptions, it is difficult to determine how the role of the principal in desegregation represents a departure from past practice. For example, Smith et al. (1973), anticipating a "new" role for building principals, advises principals to spend more time out on the grounds, award greater accessibility to staff and students, and give less time to administrative paperwork. "Less" and "more" are relative terms, but Goodlad (1975, p. 138) has found that "good" principals tend to be those who are under any circumstances visible, accessible, at "the heart of things." Metz offers a detailed contrast of the role enactment of the principals of two desegregated junior high schools, without ever making clear how those role performances were prompted by or affected by the peculiar circumstances of desegregation. In these cases, the existing literature has not differentiated effectiveness in desegregation from effectiveness generally. The few exceptions serve only to underscore the importance of revealing those distinctions where they exist.

Noblit (1979) contrasts the expectations established and sustained by two successive principals in a desegregated high school, and the way in which those norms either supported or eroded the structure of intergroup relations among students and between teachers and students. Noblit explicitly traces the influence of each principal on the "political economy" of influence in the school, noting how specific patterns of interaction affected the fortunes of "old guard" teachers and white honors students.

Rist (1978, pp. 174, 192) shows how unanalyzed norms of interpretation may preserve differences in group status and prospects for success. He relates one occasion on which the principal of a desegregated elementary school, in conversation with parents, describes success for white children in academic terms and success for black children as the absence of disciplinary problems; and another on which the principal characterizes progress in integration as the speed with which the behavior and aspirations of whites could be expected to "rub off" on the blacks.

These examples serve to convey the importance of more thorough case study descriptions. On the one hand, existing descriptions lend themselves perhaps too readily to assignments of blame directed toward individual competence and sensitivity, and too little to the kind of systematic organizational (normative) analysis that Noblit (1979) offers. At the same time, the principal is portrayed (e.g., in Smith et al., 1973) as the arbiter of crisis, the person with a finger in the dike. At its extreme, this view suggests that the main hedges against chaos are the principal's eternal vigilance and simultaneous accessibility to anyone at any time. The scenario that this suggests may be homorous to anyone but a school principal; taking an organizational perspective, it is also unrealistic. In light of such a perspective, there are three major problems with the current descriptions of the principal's role and the advice they engender. First, they treat the role of the principal as positional rather than relational, thus confusing the authority to initiate or guide change with the power to accomplish it. [Noblit's (1979) work is a worthy exception here.] In spite of Rist's warning, such treatments do in fact fall prey to the weaknesses of a great man view of history, and underestimate the interactive nature of the principal's influence.

Second, existing descriptions fail to characterize changes in role as changes in an array of expectations and a repertoire of actions; the nature of a "role" remains unanalyzed and unexamined. There is little descriptive basis on which one can distinguish the limits and possibilities of a "new" role in terms of their relative distance from the limits and possibilities of an "old" one; thus, there is little way to anticipate the kinds of training or other resources that would constitute support.

And third, most descriptions are in fact only illustrative anecdotes; they neither intend nor accomplish the kind of careful description or rigorous analysis that would be required to examine fully the principal's role in desegregation.

2. Teachers' Roles in Desegregated Schools

Teachers, like principals, may encounter expectations for performance in and out of classrooms that differ markedly from those that have guided their actions in the past. Metz (1978) describes how teachers' preferences for classroom instruction may prove to be in conflict with the adaptations (e.g., "bargaining" for students' attention) they feel they are forced to make in desegregated classrooms. Instructional methods that have been shown effective in desegregated schools may constitute radical departures from previous practice (Slavin, 1979; Schofield and Sagar, 1979; Metz, 1978). And an expanded set of educational aims (including intergroup relations as well as the more traditional academic achievement) may call for teachers to interact with students and with each other in ways they cannot envision, may not approve, and have not been prepared for.

Throughout the desegregation literature, as researchers characterize prevailing practices and problems, are clues to the demands placed on teachers; rare, however, are the descriptions of teachers' views and experiences in learning, adapting, searching for, and even resisting new practices or defining and resolving recurrent problems. Clement, Eisenhart, and Harding (1979) devote brief attention to characterizing the social and professional distance between black and white members of an integrated staff, and to portraying the norms of interpretation by which teachers avoid "racial" definitions of situations or problems. Rist (1978) includes in his case study of a desegregated elementary school some periodic descriptions of inservice sessions that operated to erode teachers' interest, commitment, and willingness to address issues of integration. Teachers' collegial relations with each other and administrators, while an integral part of the school as a workplace, have remained largely unexamined in the desegregation literature. Only recently (King, 1980) have examinations of teachers' involvements with staff development focused on the particular situation posed by desegregation.

E. THE CONTEXT OF DESEGREGATION: EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

In this review of the literature and in the study that it informs, we have concentrated on the organizational setting of the individual school and on integration as an instance of school-based social change. The case study literature nonetheless points to a number of external setting characteristics or influences that create possibilities and set limits on the nature of desegregation and on the particular role of staff development. These factors include: the voluntary or involuntary nature of desegregation (King, 1980; Davidson et al., 1978); the active or passive role of the school board (Metz, 1978); the pace at which desegregation is attempted (Davidson, 1978); the composition of the student population (Rist, 1978); the existence and character of district-sponsored staff development (King, 1980); district priorities (e.g., "keeping the lid on") (Noblit, 1979); the development of district policies governing attendance, grouping and tracking, and promotion of students (Clement, Eisenhart, and Harding, 1979); and the development of staff transfer or promotion policies that may affect teachers' commitment to achieving the aims of integration (Lortie, 1975).

II. THE SCHOOL AS A WORKPLACE: STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

A. AN ORGANIZATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

We have cast staff development of any sort as a change intervention, calling up questions of the schools as an organized social setting and curiosities about the conditions under which persons engage in new practice. We have done so on two grounds:

First, the social organization of schools has been found consequential to educational and organizational outcomes that include equity and innovation. The organizational pattern of structures, practices, shared expectations within and among groups, and prevailing role relationships appears to bear upon student success, group standing, and school renewal. These are aspects of the "internal life of schools" (Rutter et al., 1979; Jencks, 1972).

Second, staff development, even when aimed at the improvement of individual teachers or administrators, cannot avoid being fundamentally an organizational phenomenon. Ideas that gain (or fail to gain) currency, practices that are awarded or denied a serious trial, relationships that are sought or avoided are all in major respects accorded greater or lesser relevance on the basis of what *going* to school or *working* at school amounts to in American education, in a particular community or district, even in a particular school. For all of their proclaimed isolation, teachers and administrators are not in fact free agents who coincidentally share physical space with others. If the measure of "effective" staff development is in the first instance the trying out, mastering, and continuation of promising practice in schools and classrooms, researchers (like teachers) must take into account the boundaries of encouraged, permitted, and prohibited practice. With respect to the role of staff development in desegregated schools, researchers must account additionally for the ways in which rapid and imposed change may bring change in (and dispute over) just those boundaries.

By these arguments, staff development is an instance of organizational intervention on some scale and in some fashion. The organizational character of the setting stands not as some broad, undefined (and only mysteriously consequential) "context," but is argued here to be the heart of the matter.[1] The existing literature on schools as organizations and on organizational change in schools, while incomplete, offers a substantial basis for proposing that the role and impact of staff development are bound in powerful ways to the organizationally (normatively) defined possibilities for and limits on professional action.

The argument that staff development must attend to the needs, interests, and requirements of individual teachers and principals is certainly not without merit (Hall and Loucks, 1979). Nonetheless, it appears that the nature and extent of individuals' participation in staff development activities and their latitude to innovate in the classroom are very much tied to the expectations of the school in which they work. Rutter et al. (1979, pp. 139-140) note that:

> It was very much easier to be a good teacher in some schools than it was in others. The overall ethos of the school seemed to provide support and a context which facilitated good teaching. Teaching performance is a function of the school environment as well as of personal qualities. . . . The extent to which teachers can improve their skills appears to be dependent, in part, on the school they are working in.[2]

Similarly, Goodlad (1975, p. 70) was perplexed when teachers or principals who visited his lab school, who were impressed by what they saw in action and interested in proceeding in similar fashion, nonetheless expressed a certain powerlessness, lack of confidence, and general inability to do what they saw others do. Goodlad's interest thus turned to exploring the kinds of settings from which these visitors came, looking to understand what the potential innovators had to take into account in the course of their own work that would encourage or discourage exploration and experimentation. Schiffer (1980, p. 127) observes:

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[1] Sarason (1971) complains that much of the educational literature is guided by a psychological perspective that fails to take sufficient account of the massive and pervasive influence of the school as social organization. He attributes the absence of systematic organizational inquiry to the long-term immersion of American education in professional fields that stress individual characteristics and individual differences (1971, p. 103). Miller and Wolf (1978) also observe that the present "culture" of the school encourages persons to view change as an individual matter, and that such commonly held views mask the powerful organizational influences that place limits on and create resources for change.

[2] Rutter et al. (1979) discount the argument that those differences among schools can be explained by reference to student population characteristics.

> Although it is true that organizational change does not take place without appropriate changes in staff members' behavior, it is also true that the amount and kind of change that is possible for any individual is circumscribed by the amount and kind of organizational change that occurs.

By these arguments, the school as an organized workplace is sufficiently powerful to govern the nature and extent of innovation quite apart from the merits of the innovation itself or the fashion in which it is "packaged."[1]

B. DESCRIBING THE SCHOOL AS A WORKPLACE

The social organization of the school has increasingly been the focus of descriptive research and gains have been made in rendering "organization" less opaque and more manageable as both a practical and analytic matter (Herriott and Gross, 1978; Metz, 1978; Alschuler et al., 1976; Sarason, 1971; and others). Current literature on organizations and particularly on the organization of the school stresses certain characteristics of schools as *workplaces* that may bear on the role of staff development:

First, school organization literature relies on the concept of the school "system" (Parsons, 1959; Bidwell, 1970); it stresses the *interrelatedness* of practices and roles, and the *interdependence* of persons and structures in school organization. In revealing the ways in which practices serve multiple functions or in which they are intertwined in unexpected fashion, this body of literature exposes some of the complexity of school work and anticipates some of the complexities of school improvement efforts.

Second, existing descriptions of the school as a workplace stress the isolation of teachers' or administrators' daily work. Working alone in classrooms, out of the sight and hearing of fellow professionals, teachers and administrators cultivate a sense of independence, privacy, and autonomy that tends to mask many of the very complexities that bear upon their effectiveness and latitude to innovate. In the face of massive, imposed, and complex change (of the sort represented by desegregation), the prevailing pattern of work life in schools is one of collegial noninteraction (Schiffer, 1980; Lieberman and Miller, 1979; Metz, 1978; Goodlad, 1975; Lortie, 1975). Teaching, claims Sarason (1971, p. 71), is a "lonely profession, despite the fact that the school is densely populated." The reward for good teaching, it appears, is being left alone.

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[1] Much of the literature on staff development has concentrated on the design ("packaging") of the program itself, with, at best, passing and broad reference to organizational context. See Rubin (1978) as a recent example.

This relative inattention to the merits of collegial effort is reflected not only in the daily life of most schools, but in the literature as well. Goodlad (1975) notes that substantial discussion centers on ways to organize the individual classroom, but that little discussion attends to ways to make it desirable, interesting, challenging, and satisfying for teachers to act as colleagues (1975, p. 177).

Routine organizational arrangements (e.g., scheduling, the arrangement of physical space, and requirements for administrative paperwork) are designed in ways that support the primacy of teacher-student interaction and that diminish the importance of or opportunity for collegial interaction. Leacock (1969, p. 202) notes that such arrangements effectively limit opportunities for professional growth.

Isolation and independence are buttressed by a set of powerful norms about the topics of discussion among teachers or administrators, the conditions under which particular topics are raised, the form of interaction, and the limit of permissible action. The "privacy ethic" (Lieberman and Miller; Doyle and Ponder, 1977-78) stands as an image of an entire array of expectations for limiting interaction. The "jousting" and "gripping" described by Lieberman and Miller (1979, p. 61) promote solidarity while limiting rigorous analysis and proposals for subsequent action. Existing vehicles for collective discussion and design are, according to Sarason (1971, p. 71), "based on the principle of avoidance of controversy." Neither the forum nor the habit exists for collectively grappling with recurrent and complex issues.[1] Metz (1978) illustrates how faculty meetings are conducted to minimize or eliminate the public and collective consideration of difficult issues (e.g., through structuring the agenda, cutting off or tabling discussion); she also illustrates some of the multiple purposes that are served by restricting discussion, noting that student order is sustained more effectively when teachers project a united front[2] and that the appearance of consensus and the concealment of educational differences is thus functional.

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[1] Sarason (1971, p. 199) contrasts this workplace situation with one established by Dewey, intended specifically to foster close and frequent collegial interaction: "Dewey considered the informal interchange among teachers to be an essential characteristic of the culture of the school. Teachers had free periods in order to visit and advise with other groups and teachers. The function of the free period was not a respite from a wearying task but a stimulus to intellectual exchange."

[2] This view accords with the findings of Rutter et al. (1979) that disciplinary problems are reduced where teachers are in agreement about the rules and their enforcement.

This pattern of noninteraction, or privacy, is further supported by a set of stated beliefs and expectations about autonomy and independence of professional action. Lortie (1975) notes that teachers expect to be free from others' interference and intervention.[1]

Prevailing norms of interaction (e.g., "privacy") appear to influence how new ideas are introduced, how new demands are made felt, and how changes are accommodated. A predominating pattern of independence is reportedly supported by an established and widespread tolerance for diverse practice, which in turn is supported by the stated belief that personal preference and independent trial and error are adequate bases on which to judge good practice.[2]

By most descriptions of school work life, reliance on others as sources of insight, knowledge, experience, or skill is periodic at best (Lortie, 1975) and is typically confined to requests for advice in the first two years of teaching (Lortie, 1975; Fuchs, 1969). Established classroom practices are preserved against others' scrutiny by the widely shared and enacted belief that differences in practice are "matters of philosophy" (Metz, 1978), judged by considerations of personal preference and not by the introduction of systematic evidence bearing on demonstrable effects. According to Schiffer (1980, p. 114):

> This pattern has a number of consequences. It allows teachers to differ in their level of effort without having

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[1] Metz's (1978) descriptive account of desegregated junior high schools shows how "privacy" does not in fact constitute autonomy. The nonequivalence of the two terms--and two realities--is perhaps most apparent to teachers under conditions of change, e.g., desegregation. To some degree, however, it may be known to teachers in all schools (see, for example, Fuchs, 1969).

[2] This is not to suggest that teachers in fact believe all practices are equally effective or that they never discuss or disagree about matters of practice. Metz (1978) describes a junior high school in which teachers engaged in the overt (and often vociferous) discussion of "philosophical" differences. However, prevailing norms of "private" practice and noncollegial interaction made identification of common ground difficult; discussion or argument tended to proceed at a level of abstraction too high to reveal commonalities of thought or actual practice. In yet another school, also described by Metz, teachers supported an "illusion of consensus" by proscribing any overt discussion of educational aims or practices. In both cases, quite apart from teachers' stated views of classroom practice, workplace interaction proceeded *as if* all practices were equally effective, all judgments equally supportable, all preferences equally valid.

> sanctions applied, favors variations in teaching style and content and allows teachers to express individual values and personality styles, weakens attempts to impose a single definition of 'good teaching,' encourages individualistic solutions, and, within limits, makes possible a laissez-faire, ideosyncratic approach to curriculum and classroom management.

The claim to self-sufficiency protects one from the scrutiny of others, but also limits considerably the degree to which others can be exploited for their ideas and advice. Teachers' professional performances are virtually invisible to their peers, offering little opportunity to expand professional knowledge or skill. One of the few legitimate ways in which teachers can initiate "professional" discussions with others is by asking for help, but requests that are too frequent are a mark of incompetence (Fuchs, 1969).

One consequence of this perspective is that it supports preferences grounded in "personality" as legitimate grounds for selecting one practice over another in the classroom. By Lortie's (1975, p. 67) account, the current process of socialization in schools "does not lay the bases for informed assessment of teaching technique or encourage the development of analytic orientations toward the work." Nothing in teachers' work experience in most schools contributes to building a "shared technical culture" that would permit teachers, with assurance and with evidence, to state preferences for specific practices.

> Teaching has not been subjected to the sustained, empirical and practice-oriented inquiry into problems and alternatives which we find in other university-based professions.

Doyle and Ponder (1977-78) and Lieberman and Miller (1979) describe the fashion in which teachers' judgments about proposed ideas or methods derive from their "practicality," or the degree to which they are consistent with prevailing expectations and previously tested experience. Combined with situational pressures toward independence ("privacy") and the absence of a "shared technical culture," however, such judgments convey little of the grounds on which judgments are made. (Even when judgments are well-founded in theory and analysis, they are unlikely to be publicly expressed in those terms.) Lieberman and Miller (1979, p. 60), while recognizing the importance of focusing on actual practice, suggest that the norm of "practicality" that typically prevails operates to reduce the prospects for school improvement:

> In essence, the value placed on practicality is a value placed on resistance to change and to expanding the possibilities of teaching (1979, p. 60).

The central role of the building principal is celebrated in much of the school organization literature. Specifically, the combination of administrative resources and established rights of initiative are thought to create resources for renewal and change (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978; Goodlad, 1975; Lieberman, 1973; Tye, 1973; Sarason, 1971). Sarason (1971), however, suggests that the pattern by which principals are recruited, trained, and supported day to day may operate more powerfully toward preserving the status quo than toward innovation and change.[1] Sarason's claims are well supported in some case study descriptions of principals' work (Wolcott, 1973), but need to be more widely and systematically tested under conditions of rapid, large-scale, and imposed change of the sort represented by desegregation. (See Noblit, 1979).

In discussions of staff development and school change, Rauh (1979) and McLaughlin and Marsh (1979) note that a "critical mass" of teachers is necessary to create normative and experiential support for school-based change. By other evidence, however, the typical organization of the school as a workplace makes initiating and sustaining the required interactions of a critical mass highly problematic. Goodlad (1970) reports that in only four of sixty-seven schools examined in the course of one study were there collegial groups working concertedly on shared problems and school improvement.

The processes of change in schools are governed by organizational features that in many ways are more strongly oriented toward stability and inertia than they are toward change or practices of organizational "self-renewal" (Goodlad, 1975). Citing from Guba (1966), Goodlad (1975, p. 82) notes that bureaucracies typically do not permit high-risk ventures, do not provide sanctioned freedom to fail, and do not support the long-range "delayed gratification" required in incremental change.

Such observations are consistent with the often-encountered judgments that change is "threatening"; viewed from an organizational perspective, resistance to change may be seen as a rational response to organizational limits on the roles of principal and teachers and to unpredictable demands for actions that may outstrip present capabilities for action. Miller and Wolf (1978, p. 141) report that their presence in the school as staff developers (i.e., in the role of change agent) *contributed* to some of the difficulties that they were there to alleviate.

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[1] Schiffer (1980, p. 83) reports a general shift in the definition of the principal's role from "educational leader" to "implementor of the agreement"; she summarizes a 1970 University of Oregon study of school principals in all fifty states in which one of the most critical reported dilemmas for principals was defining and establishing an appropriate role under circumstances where their status and autonomy were eroded on all sides. Similar findings about perceived powerlessness and an eroding and changing role emerge from Schiffer's perusal of lead articles over a several-year period in the National Elementary Principal and the NASS Bulletin. The recommendations (e.g., lobbying for the right to engage in collective bargaining) suggest that principals, too, are reaching for greater control in response to a situation they find uncertain, ambiguous, fluid, and complex.

To the degree that staff development or other change ventures call precisely for the collective attention to matters of practice and for systematic inquiry into the worth and relevance of classroom practice, it may be directly in conflict with prevailing norms of interaction in many schools. Its success, in turn, may rest in part on its ability to demonstrate, promote, and participate in alternative norms of collegiality and experimentation.[1]

C. CONTRIBUTIONS OF ROLE THEORY

From a sociological perspective, role theory provides a means for the systematic study of work settings through the conceptualization and measurement of expectations for acts in situations. This theoretical perspective on schools, highlighting aspects of norm and role (McGrath, 1968; Jackson, 1966; Gross, Mason, and McEachern, 1958) offers a sociological view of schools as organizations or social settings in which persons' behavior and perceptions are grounded in shared expectations for what "going to school" amounts to. Such expectations are not, of course, necessarily consistent within or between groups; in this instance, expectations for providing increased opportunities for minority groups may be in conflict with expectations for maintaining stable working conditions or sustaining smooth relations with families and other groups in the community. In those settings where teachers encounter the greatest array of reference groups (the greatest diversity), the demands on teachers' competence will be greatest; one might even expect that in those schools where educational equity for students is most emphasized and most clearly enacted in organizational arrangements (e.g., "mainstreaming"), the situation for staff will be the most difficult. Gross, Mason, and McEachern (1958) reveal some of the ways in which specific roles (in this case, the role of school superintendent) require, as a routine matter, accommodation of competing demands; it appears likely that the roles of teacher and principal in desegregated schools will have comparable requirements. Sarason (1971, p. 4) emphasizes:

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[1] See Miller and Wolf (1979) and Goodlad (1975) for accounts of efforts to alter norms of independence and unanalyzed "practicality."

> The first point emphasized is the *complexity of each role*--its demands, built-in conflicts, relationship to other types of roles, and relationship to the overall system. Attention to this point is independent of considerations of personality, which, although of obvious importance, too often obscure the nature of the role. Once one understands the role of the teacher and principal, the importance of personality factors becomes more clear.

Gross, Mason, and McEachern (1958) underscore the importance of abandoning assumptions of role consensus, either within or among role groups; areas of consensus, they claim, must be determined empirically and situationally. Their claims are well-supported by their own study of the role of the school superintendency in the state of Massachusetts; findings of that study underline the place of multiple peer reference groups and their respective norms of intra- and intergroup relationships, in any considerations of intervention and change.

Jay Jackson's (1966) "conceptual and measurement model for norms and roles" offers a basis on which to articulate social organization in precisely such situationally-specific and role-specific terms. Jackson's method incorporates assumptions about role complexity, role consensus, and role repertoire that are consistent with other promising developments in role theory, and centers on the measurement of patterns of approval and disapproval for a specified inventory of acts in situations.

A complementary approach to the study of situationally salient norms of interaction is suggested by Kjolseth's (1972) distinction among "background," "foreground (or categorical)," "emergent (or endogenous)," and "transcendent" grounds of shared social knowledge. One might distinguish, for example, expectations for young persons' deference to adults in a community generally (background expectations), expectations for student deference to teachers in school (foreground or categorical expectations), and expectations for particular students' deference to particular teachers in particular classrooms (emergent or endogenous expectations). In some classrooms, students do not violate norms of deference by calling teachers by their first names; in other classrooms, such an act would be viewed by students and teachers as a violation of the norm.

Finally, there are transcendent norms governing what is *potentially* relevant in the future, i.e., potentially relevant, meaningful, and appropriate behavior or interaction. Given a configuration of background, categorical, and emergent norms bearing upon the interactions within and between principal groups in the school, there appear to be a specifiable array of potential options for subsequent interaction; some interactions may be less well grounded (less conceivable to persons) than others when history and present practice are taken into account. Such expectations can be expressed in terms of what is possible here, in this school, i.e., what is both desirable and possible. The salience of transcendent norms bears particularly upon discussions of staff development and the adoption of change by persons, groups, or organizations.

There are likely to be situational and role-related differences in the range and type of enacted "role repertoire" (Little, 1978) or configuration of reportedly approved and disapproved acts (Jackson, 1966) characteristic of teachers and administrators from one school to the next, or from one class of schools to another (e.g., elementary versus secondary). To be effective, staff development activities may have to tap the specific expectations that comprise the role repertoire of administrators and teachers in specific schools and under specific circumstances.

The practical demands placed by desegregation are most likely to call into question--implicitly or explicitly--established norms (shared expectations) governing interaction within and between the various groups in the school (Noblit, 1979). In schools with substantial diversity in student population, the range and type of influential reference groups is expanded and the array of norms (and thus behavior and styles of interaction) correspondingly complicated. We might expect that the more heterogeneous the setting, the less useful will be the nominal role identifiers of "administrator," "teacher," and "student" in standing for a uniform set of intragroup and intergroup shared expectations (Schofield and Sagar, 1979).

D. STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND ASPECTS OF SCHOOL RENEWAL

McLaughlin and Marsh (1978) speculate that one of the reasons that many of the educational reforms proposed or attempted in the sixties and early seventies failed was the underestimation of teacher training needs (1978, p. 69). A broader ground for failure might be the absence of attention to social organizational features in which changes were attempted, and in terms of which staff development activities assumed particular relevance. (See also Schiffer, 1980; Fullan and Pomfret, 1977; Mann, 1976).

Nonetheless, McLaughlin and Marsh themselves call for a view of staff development that is informed by and takes specific account of the organizational context (1979, p. 87). Miller (1980) suggests that staff development programs employ an entire repertoire of practices that accommodates the school as a *workplace*.

Increasingly, "attention to context" requires that staff developers seek ways to participate collaboratively with teachers and administrators in schools, as participants in the school as workplace. McLaughlin and Marsh (1979) note that the findings of the Rand "change agent" study have implications for the teacher center movement. While these findings support the extensive collegial involvement of teachers and the focus on practice,

> . . . some of the writing about teacher centers lacks sufficient concern about program building within schools or the organizational context for staff development (p. 92).

Similarly, Schiffer (1980, p. 124) notes that staff development models (i.e., descriptions focused on the design of a staff development initiative itself), have several "shortcomings":

> (1) they are politically unrealistic; they are based on anachronistic assumptions about authority prerogatives; (2) they are overcommitted to rational strategies of change that focus upon organizational goals; thus they fail to take into account adequately the behavioral regularities in the school and its environment, and the need to make personal and normative changes; and (3) they are overcommitted to making personal change and thus do not make provision for organizational accommodation to these changes.

Supporting the same argument, Fullan and Pomfret (1977, pp. 345-6) propose that innovations (specifically curriculum innovations) require organizational change in order to insure implementation, but complain that the requirements for such change and the means by which they might be achieved are left implicit in the program design, unrevealed, unanalyzed, and unassisted in most implementation programs. Changes in role definitions and role relations, they claim, pose the greatest difficulties. Schiffer (1980, p. 10) adds that

> If school renewal is the goal of staff development, then models that focus only on improving the individual teacher's classroom performance are incomplete. What happens in an individual teacher's classroom has at best only an indirect impact on the overall instructional program and the general school climate.

Despite this advice, few descriptions of staff development programs take prevailing norms of interaction and interpretation systematically into account[1] (for an exception, see Miller and Wolf, 1979). In describing a proposed inservice program for desegregating school districts, Smith et al. (1973) outline a curriculum for inservices to orient teachers and principals to desegregation: the description includes references to desirable content, ranging from human relations to the discussion of relevant instructional techniques, e.g., individualization. It includes advice to continue inservice at least over the course of the first full year rather than relying on predesegregation summer workshops to build the necessary confidence and competence. It includes training and support for all staff. At the same time, it passes over the nature and powerful influence of existing arrangements, expectations, and interactional routines in ways likely to be critical to the success of desegregation broadly and the success of staff development programs more specifically. For example, the authors suggest that "there must be a positive attitude . . . toward school desegregation" and that "teachers must be willing to lose some of their classroom autonomy" (Smith et al., 1973, p. 158). Accomplishing a positive view and making interdependence (rather than independence) a valued part of collegial work life is, in light of the organizational literature, perhaps more appropriately viewed as a consequence of proper staff development than as its precondition. In another example, the authors propose a shift from "subject centered" modes of instruction, with no mention of the kind of faculty polarization that precisely such an issue can stimulate (see Metz, 1978). And in yet another example, they advise training in such instructional techniques as individualization, without attending to the various ways and arenas in which "individualization" might be reflected; the stages in which it might be introduced to ease preparation burdens; or the competing obligations in the classroom for individual assistance, group order, and group instruction. In a similar way, Selden's (1979) article on "favorable" conditions and arrangements for inservice education focuses exclusively on the shape of the inservice itself, with no reference to the established norms of work that might lead teachers either to endorse or discount a staff development effort independent of its substantive worth.

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[1] Fewer still propose or design a staff development program to expose the prevailing norms by training teachers and administrators in an organizational change perspective. For an exception, see Alschuler et al., *A Primer for Social Literacy Training* (1976).

The most fruitful of recent efforts for our purposes here, and certainly one of the most extensive and exhaustive examinations of organizational change in schools, is the four-year "change agent" study conducted by the Rand Corporation and reported in eight volumes and in related articles. In a summary article of the implications of the study's findings for staff development, McLaughlin and Marsh (1978) identify four broad factors that appear to be related to a school's continued use of an innovation following the withdrawal of federal support. (Presumably, these factors are also related to continuity of change following withdrawal of some other forms of outside support.) Further, McLaughlin and Marsh offer evidence suggesting those arrangements within the school setting and those features of staff development that appear to influence the four factors of institutional motivation (the rationale or ground on which a new practice is tried); institutional leadership (including specific patterns of support and participation by principals and district personnel); project implementation strategies (including strategies for creating internal referents--and reference groups--for change, patterns of decision making and the use of staff training); and teacher characteristics (of which the most critical is teachers' sense of efficacy). These factors require attention to the role of practitioner as change agent (see also Alschuler et al., 1976; Tye and Novotney, 1975; Williams et al., 1974; Howard and Rowland, 1969).

Although it was not designed or conducted specifically to address the nature, role, and impact of staff development as a change intervention,[1] the Rand study offers a preliminary framework within which to cast such work; combined with the conceptual and analytic resources of role theory, it offers an initial framework within which to organize the insights generated by other, related work.

A major contribution of the Rand study and other relatively recent works on organizational change in schools (Herriott and Gross, 1978; Goodlad, 1975; Gross, Giacquinta and Bernstein, 1971; and others) has been their increasingly systematic attention to an entire sequence of change. In this regard, these works constitute an advance over prior work. Early literature on the diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 1962) has frequently been taken as the model for change in schools. Thus, change efforts have focused on techniques for increasing "awareness" and inspiring the interest of individuals, and have directed little attention to the nature of organizational settings in which practices are continued, discontinued, modified, and so on. (See Yin, Heald, and Vogel, 1977; Bingham, 1976; Goodlad, 1975; Sarason, 1971).

More recent studies of organizational change in schools expose two aspects of change that bear upon the design and conduct of staff development.

First is the nature of role definition, the shape of role relationships, and the degree to which prevailing role expectations permit or encourage the practices intended by a staff development program. School improvement programs frequently require that teachers interact differently with students (Estrada and Hedlund, 1980; Fullan and Pomfret, 1977; Gross, Giacquinta and Bernstein, 1971) or with colleagues (Miller and Wolf, 1979; Goodlad, 1975). In several instances, staff development programs have envisioned teachers' roles that include participation in problem-specific research; teachers have been expected to assume something of a scientific stance toward classroom practice, curriculum, and schoolwide policies and practices (Miller, 1980; Kreinberg, 1980; Tikunoff, Ward, and Griffin, 1979; Zigarmi, 1979; Feiman, 1978).

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[1] The appendix to Volume III of the Rand report includes brief case study descriptions of staff development components in the project sites. See Dale Mann et al., 1975.

In their discussion of the implementation of an innovation in teacher role attempted by an elementary school, Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein (1971) trace the failure of the innovation to the absence of systematic and practical support for staff in translating theory into practice. Initial endorsement by the principal and faculty was not sufficient ground on which teachers could sort out initial or emerging difficulties in implementation. The absence of regular opportunities for exploring practical issues of change effectively decreased the chance of change and increased the risk of admitting difficulties or trying out solutions.

Rist (1978, p. 126), describing the limited inservice assistance rendered to teachers of a newly desegregated elementary school, noted that

> These classes were initiated only after school had been in session for a month. For that first month, there had been no assistance or assurance for the teachers. They had been left on their own during what I consider the most critical period of the entire school year.

As critical as first stage assistance may be, some concerns emerge only with the emergence of observations and questions based in experience. McLaughlin and Marsh (1978, pp. 78, 80) observe that

> . . . even a carefully planned staff training program usually cannot anticipate the nature or the timing of project staff assistance requirements, especially as they relate to particular classroom problems. Likewise, staff often cannot perceive what they need to know until the need arises. . . . The conceptual clarity critical to project success and continuation must be achieved during the process of implementation--it cannot be 'given' to staff at the outset.

In similar fashion, Fullan and Pomfret (1977, p. 373) assert that "intensive inservice training (as distinct from single workshops or preservice training) is an important strategy for implementation."

In implementing such changes, problems of initial support or resistance have turned out to be less difficult to anticipate and to manage than the developments that have emerged over time. Fader's (1971) experience in attempting to assist an urban junior high school in adopting his "hooked on books" approach to literacy is illustrative. Although Fader arranged to be present in Garnet-Patterson School each week during the implementation period to assist in managing the transition to new practice, his presence may in fact have speeded the development of opposing factions among the faculty; no provisions were made for participants in the innovation to develop a sense of themselves as a *group* (reference group), thus reducing their opportunity for exploring shared problems of innovation and for recruiting new members. Fader's experience is consistent with the findings of Fullan and Pomfret (1977) that role relationships are the most difficult and least often assisted arena of change, and with the findings of Yin, Heald, and Vogel (1977) that technical assistance may, under certain circumstances, produce a *negative* effect.

A second aspect is the cumulative and incremental nature of change and the parallel requirements for sustained assistance over time. In literature that focuses on the diffusion of technological innovations, success and failure have been recorded on the basis of "adoption," or introduction of an innovation. The initial and emerging dilemmas associated with implementation, or the translation of a plausible idea into good practice, have been found to be more critical and more complex (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978; Rist, 1978; Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein, 1977; Goodlad, 1975; Sarason, 1971), but less often described.

Additional contributions of recent studies have been to explore some of the conditions under which staff developers can expect to exert influence on school practice and to describe the nature and extent of interactions between staff developers and teachers or administrators. Miller (1980) claims that the power of the school as a *workplace* (a term she uses explicitly) is substantial, and suggests that staff development--if it is to compete with or participate in prevailing work arrangements--must operate directly in the school. By her view, staff developers must be present in individual schools, over time, as participants in "the social world of teaching" (1980, p. 15). Williams (1979, p. 99) cites an unpublished paper by Berman and McLaughlin that recommends a "school-based component" for staff development and that promotes collegial interaction among teachers and administrators: "teachers and administrators should consider their colleagues as major resources for staff development." Lieberman and Miller (1979, p. 67) propose that designers of staff development abandon the logic and the vocabulary of "staff training":

> Based on a deficit model of teacher education, training does not acknowledge the complex social realities of teaching, assumes that one group (the trainers) is more able than another (the trainees), and does not establish legitimacy in the life of the school and of teachers.

This view accords with one stated by Culver, Lieberman, and Shiman (1973) that staff development or technical assistance is frequently asymmetrical in its assumptions and relationships, with the outsiders considered the "haves" and the schools considered the "have nots."

Increasingly, recommendations for staff development programs have stressed a collaborative or collegial relationship that credits the knowledge, skill, and experience of school personnel and that acknowledges the complexities of classroom teaching and school improvement (McLaughlin and Marsh, 1979). Descriptions of "helping" or "resource" teachers are reflective of this emergent interest (Estrada and Hedlund, 1980; Rauh, 1979), as is the developing literature on the "advisor role" (Nemser and Devaney, n.d.). Fullan and Pomfret (1977) report that implementation of curriculum innovations were more assured where there was continuous interaction between teachers and consultants. Berman and McLaughlin (1978) report that consultants were useful when they sustained a long-term involvement that permitted frequent interaction, well informed by close attention to the actual sequence of implementation. Rauh (1979) acclaims the virtues of a helping teacher approach, but reveals some of the ways (e.g., competing role demands and definitions) in which its success over time is likely to ride on schools' or districts' abilities to take into account the organizational setting in which staff developers are expected to work.

III. SELECTED ANNOTATIONS

Among the various contributors to the design of the present work, seven stand out as sources of major insight into the nature of urban and desegregated schools, and into the nature of staff development as an instance of organizational change.

BERMAN, PAUL and MILBREY WALLIN McLAUGHLIN. *Federal Programs*
1978 *Supporting Educational Change, Vol. III: Implementing and Sustaining Innovations*. Prepared under contract no. HEW-OS-73-216 with the US Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Santa Monica, California: The Rand Corporation. (May.)

This is the summary volume of an eight-volume report of Rand Corporation's four-year study of planned innovation in schools. Its findings bear upon the design and conduct of staff development by delineating those conditions that support implementation of innovations. These include: ongoing, concrete training for teachers, tied to emerging practical problems; broad-based support from both central administration and building staff; opportunities to observe similar efforts in other classrooms or schools; regular meetings of participants to discuss practical problems; local materials development; and the active participation of the principal in training and in building support. *Ineffective* implementation was often characterized by: reliance on outside consultants who had no day-by-day familiarity with the effort; packaged management approaches; one-shot, preimplementation training; a premature attempt to be comprehensive (spreading resources too thin at the start); goals that were trivial or not sufficiently challenging.

GOODLAD, JOHN I. *The Dynamics of Educational Change: Toward*
1975 *Responsive Schools*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Goodlad reports in careful detail an experimental partnership among UCLA, IDEA (a subsidiary of the Kettering Foundation) and eighteen elementary schools in southern California. The partnership was forged out of a broad and unspecified interest in fostering "improvement in educational practice," by creating a mutually supportive reference group of principals and university staff. The description of the cross-school reference group and the school/university relationships that emerged over two years sheds considerable light on the prospects and problems of collaborative relationships between staff development and individual schools.

GROSS, NEAL, JOSEPH B. GIACQUINTA, MARILYN BERNSTEIN.
1971 *Implemgnting Organizational Innovations: A Sociological Analysis of Planned Educational Change.* New York: Basic Books

This case study of attempted change in teachers' roles in an elementary school is important principally for its argument that studies of educational innovation have awarded too little attention to conditions and sequences of implementation.

LIEBERMAN, ANN and LYNNE MILLER, eds. *Staff Development: New*
1979 *Demands, New Realities, New Perspectives.* New York: Columbia University, Teachers College Press.

This book is a reprinted and slightly modified edition of the September 1978 *Teachers College Record* devoted to issues of staff development. It stands out among writings on inservice education by the consistent attention that its articles devote to the school as a workplace. Staff development is, in several of its articles, protrayed precisely as a venture in organizational change. Throughout, the emphasis is on designing approaches that accommodate the practical realities of teaching.

RIST, RAY C. *The Invisible Children: School Integration in*
1978 *American Society.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

This extended case study of a single, urban desegregated elementary school draws its strengths from its close examination of the day-by-day developments in classrooms that, for the first time, held a diverse mix of students, from its portrayal of the role of the principal in the first stages of desegregation, and from its description of the nature and extent of staff development assistance to teachers.

RIST, RAY C. *Desegregated Schools: Appraisals of an American*
1979 *Experiment.* New York: Academic Press.

This collection of field studies aims to redress some of the shortcomings of previous studies by examining in some detail the social realities in desegregated schools. Three case studies of northern schools and three case studies of southern schools make up the collection; together, they report the findings of a three-year project funded by the National Institute of Education. The case studies all report urban experiences, though they cover a range of levels (elementary through high school), and all employ direct observation in schools. The reports are individually and collectively powerful, shedding new light on the dynamics of intergroup relations and day-to-day processes of organizational and social change.

SARASON, SEYMOUR B. *The Culture of the School and the Problem of*
1971 *Change.* Boston, Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon.

This work remains a classic in the description of the "culture" of the school as a workplace, and in its adherence to an organizational (rather than individual, or psychological) perspective.

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